

THE *Calg Lc*
O D E S
O F
H O R A C E

Dispos'd according to chronologic Order

B Y

P. SANADON,

With an *english* TRANSLATION, in
POETIC-PROSE, expressive throughout of that
JESUIT's Sense of the AUTHOR, and an Ab-
stract of his most shining REMARKS.

To which are prefix'd,

SANADON's LIFE OF HORACE
PLANN'D upon his Works, and a critical
PREFACE, wherein, the Advantage of this
Edition, above all that preceded it, is clearly
demonstrated.

By MATTHEW TOWERS, LL. D.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN, Printed;

LONDON, Reprinted and Sold by M. COOPER,
at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-Row*, J. FLETCHER
Bookseller in *Oxford*, and W. THURLBOURN in
Cambridge. 1744.

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OD E S

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Dispos'd according to chronologic Order.

Results of the 1971-72 season are as follows:

...of his most ...



To the REVEREND
PATRICK DELANY, D. D.

Reverend Sir,

AS You are among US the Protector of Men of Letters, were I even so unhappy as to be a Stranger to the many other excellent Qualitys which have always distinguish'd You, I cou'd not have hesitated a single Moment to consecrate to You the Fruits of my Labor.

BUT the Relation to You I once had the Honor of claiming, as YOUR Pupil in the University; the Care You took in giving Me an early Tast of the Beautys of the Prince of *Lyrics*; and the various Favors YOUR Generosity alone has prompted You to heap upon Me, authorise Me more particularly, nay make it my Duty, to pay

iv *DEDICATION.*

You this Tribute of a Dedication
of this Work.

GIVE Me leave to assure You
with the greatest Sincerity, that
the Opportunity which now offers
of testifying to the Public my
grateful Sense of YOUR Goodness,
gives Me more Pleasure than I
ever felt before.

IF I have the good Fortune to
merit YOUR Suffrage, I shall bold-
ly cast my Performance to the
Censure of the World; and I think
myself amply rewarded for my
Pains if I have the Honor of con-
tinuing to be thought by You,

REVEREND SIR,

Your most dutyful Pupil,

and most obedient

humble Servant,

Matthew Towers.

P R E F A C E.

THE Author, I present to the Public, is a sensible Poet, a polite Philosopher, a judicious Critic.

THE Objections that can be made against this Edition are well refuted in the following Preface of the greatest Critic that ever wrote upon HORACE. In answer to the main one that may be urg'd against the Manner I have prefer'd in translating HORACE, I shall presume to deliver it as my own Observation, that no Translation of Him into Verse has ever had the Advantages that a prose-poetic Translation is capable of, in conveying to the Reader his greatest Excellencys.

TAKE any ODE of HORACE hitherto translated into Verse, strip it of it's Rhyme, transpose the Words afterwards as you please, and if you then find the *Genius*, the *Spirit*, or the *Sense* of the Poet preserv'd, as well as they apparently may be in Poetic-prose, then shall I own my Observation ill grounded. But suppose even half a dozen ODES should stand
the

the Test, and equal, if not excel, upon a fair Comparison, is that a Reason why all the rest shou'd be prefer'd? What is it We require? Is it not the Author's Sense and Graces as well as they can be transfus'd into our Language? What then infatuates us to prefer a poor Translation in Verse to a nervous one in Poetic-prose? 'Tis plane, Nothing but the *gotbic* Jingle; take that away, and you'l perceive, as *Andrew Marvel* has it,

The Pack-horse tire without his Bells.

THE Archbishop of *Cambray's Telemachus* is written in Poetic-prose, and yet, as Mr. *Pope* says, next to *Virgil* and *Milton*, He gives the truest Idea of the Spirit and Turn of *Homer*. I have scarce met with any one, who, in Rhyme, has shewn himself capable of doing Justice to his Author but Mr. *Pope*. Had He or the great Lord *Roscommon* translated *HORACE's* lyric Pieces, I believe no one wou'd have presum'd to attempt 'em after *them*.

THE Numbers of *HORACE*, which are one of his principal Beautys, a Prose-translation cannot indeed preserve.—No more really can a poetic One. The Numbers in any Translation I have yet seen, except that of a single ODE by Mr. *Milton*, are as diff'rent from *HORACE's* as the *Spondees* of *Chevy-chase* from the *Dactyls* of the *tippling Philosopher*.

THE

PREFACE.

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THE Task is sayd to be in itself invidious to expose the Faults of Writers: for such does human Imbecility admit. To this Sentiment I willingly subscribe. But, most generous must it be thought to display the Merits of a Corrival. I had no sooner sent my Translation to the Press than I heard there was an Edition publish'd in *London* of HORACE translated into *english* Prose. Tho' the Gentlemen of this Nation are so Country-mad as to be apt to prefer their own Productions to ev'ry Thing exotic, I shall be candid enough to shew 'em that Nothing ever equal'd that Translation, nor ever will. I mean D——d W——n's Translation of HORACE with his beautiful Descriptions fully set forth in a Key. He is A. M. of ST. LEONARD'S College, ST. ANDREW'S, and his Work was revised by an ingenious School-master in *London*, eminent for his Skill in classical and critical Learning. I make no Doubt but I shall have shortly a long Letter of Thanks from Him for obliging the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, who otherwise unfortunately might never have heard of Him, with the following Specimen of his Work:

“ O MÆCENAS, descended from the
 “ Kings of *Etruria* or *Tuscany*, your Ancestors,
 “ O *you who are* both my Patron, having made my Peace with *Augustus*, and a
 “ great Honor to me by your *Quality* and
 “ Fami-

“Familiarity with me, the Son only of a
 “Slave: who was made free;” &c. Let
 me likewise give a Specimen of another
 printed for J——h D——d——n in London from
 that Part which I now accidentally cast up.
 “To you I owe the Honour of being point-
 “ed out by the *Romans* as their Lyric Poet.
 “It is owing to you that I breath, and that
 “I sing so as to please, if I can flatter my-
 “self that I do really please.” But I need
 not transcribe more to whet the Curiosity of
 the Reader to purchase these spirited Trans-
 lations.

IN Defense of my new Orthography, I
 shall say no more, but that I have therein
 chiefly follow’d Lord *Shaftesbury*, Mr. *Wolla-*
ston, Dr. *Middleton*, and others.

THIS Work I chiefly intend for Gentle-
 men who have already some Taste for HO-
 RACE, and who at the same Time having
 no Knowledg of the *french* Tongue are de-
 sirous of knowing what new Beautys *P. Sana-*
don, so much cry’d up in the Republic of
 Letters, has discover’d in Him.

BUT LET THE WORK SPEAK FOR IT-
 SELF.

P. SANA-

P. SANADON's
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I SHALL be dispens'd from making a Panegyric in this Place on the Poet, whose Verses have been the Subject of my Study and the Imployment of my Pen. The Suffrage of all Ages will justify my Choice, and his Works will for ever be the most illustrious Monument of his Glory. I flatter myself with having a just Sense of his full Value. Let the World pardon me this Boast ; Vanity has no Part in it, and this Sentiment must turn to my Confusion, since it must shew the Rashness of my Enterprize. Many other Indulgences have I to beg from the Public for all the Innovations they will remark in this Edition. Never perhaps had Work more Need of their Attention and their Equity than the One I presume to offer them. To endeavor to merit both, I prepare to give them an Account of my Labors, by laying before them the Motives of the Conduct I have observ'd therein. Scarce have I made an Alteration, without alledging my Proofs as apt Occasion presented : but not to clog my Commentary with Repetitions, I have reserv'd it to this Place to explaine myself upon certain general Principles, which have led me to make a great Number of Changes, which require solid Reasons, and where my own Authority passes for Nothing. A Justification this I owe to HORACE, to the Republic of Letters, and to myself. To proceed with some Order, I shall first speak of the Advantage of this new Edition above all that preceded it. I shall next

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answer

answer the Difficultys that may be urg'd against me ; and afterwards add some Observations, with which I should be glad to have the Reader pre-acquainted.

I. ADVANTAGES OF THIS EDITION.

I DO not seek here to prepossess the Judgment of the Public in Favor of the Work I present. I chuse rather to learn from them what I ought to think of it, than to dictate myself what I wou'd have them think. All that can be desir'd for the Understanding and Use of an Author consists in translating the Text, in illustrating it by Notes, and in collecting the Terms and Constructions in an exact and methodic Table. Nothing of all this has been hitherto wanting ; but all this has not yet been found united in one Body of Work, as it will be in this. Without pretending to injure the Translations and Comments that are in ev'ry Body's Hands, I was resolv'd to satisfy myself upon a Notion I had form'd for arriving at a thorough Knowledge of the Beautys of a Poet for whom I have always had a particular Esteem. The Public will judg whether my Notion be right, and whether in the Pursute I have fall'n short of it.

The Translation of Poets has particular Difficultys. Some Persons of Merit are persuaded that Verse shou'd not be translated but into Verse ; that it cannot be turn'd into Prose tho' never so excellent, without losing much of it's Spirit and Beauty ; that a Poet, to whom we are satisfy'd in a Translation to leave all his Thoughts only, bereft of the Harmony and Fire of Verse, is no longer a Poet, but the Carcass of one ; and that all those Translations of Verse into Prose, which are stil'd faithful, are on the contrary most unfaithful, since the Author we look for in them is so disfigur'd we hardly know him. These Reasons, sensible as they appear, are more seducing than solid. The essential Fidelity of a Translator consists in seizing the Character and Genius of his Author, in representing his Thoughts intire, without omitting any necessary or important Word ; in short, in preserving all his Strokes,
all

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all his Colors, and all his Value, by compensating with equivalent Beautys those that cannot be equally retain'd in both Languages. With these Qualitys a Translation of a Poet into Prose will have all the Perfection it possibly can have on the Side of Fidelity.

Harmony of Verse, I grant, is musically sweet; but besides that this Sweetness is only an accessory Part in a Translation, I am persuaded it is not impossible to infuse it into Prose, by giving Prose all it can borrow from the Language of the Muses. It is a judicious Remark made after *Aristotle*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Strabo*, that the *Epopée* is independent of Versification, and that as Verses may be made without Poetry, one may also be a Poet without making Verses. What constitutes Poetry, says the Author of a Discourse upon the *epic* Poem, is not the fix'd Number and the regular Cadence of Syllables; 'tis the Vivacity of the Fiction, the Magnificence of the Figures, the Boldness of the Inversions, the Beauty and Variety of the Images; it is the Enthusiasm, the Fire, the Impetuosity, the Force; the I know not what Turn of Thoughts and Expressions which Nature only can bestow. Now all this may be found in a Translation into Prose, whereas a Translation into Verse cannot fail of sacrificing frequently the Essential to the Accessory, and of changing the Thoughts and Expressions of the Author, to preserve the Graces of the Versification. Out of Choice and out of Taste therefore have I imploy'd Poetic-prose for the Translation of the ODES of HORACE, because I imagin'd *that* alone capable of preserving to my Author all the Riches of Poetry which heighten particularly the Luster of this Part of his Works; and I have reserv'd ordinary Prose for the SATIRES and EPISTLES, which are ally'd to Poetry only by that which is it's least essential Part, I mean by the Measures of Versification. This judicious and necessary Distinction has hitherto escap'd the Translators of HORACE. For Want of this Attention, they have confounded two Characters absolutely different; they have us'd the same Stile for the translating the ODES, the EPISTLES and

the SATIRES; of it's Majesty have they stript the most sublime Poesy, and by making it speak a Language proper for Letters and Conversation have given it an unsuitable Air of Familiarity. As to the rest, this Poetic-prose, which I thought my self oblig'd to use, is not a Production of those latter Times. The *Greeks* and *Latins* had it in Honor for many Ages. The Pastorals of *Longus*, the true History of *Lucian*, the Romance of *Heliodorus*, the Satire of *Petronius*, the Metamorphosis and the *Florida* of *Apuleius* are written in this Stile, and it appears by what we have left of the Works of *Mæcenat* that it was not unknown at *Rome* even at that Time which we may call the Reign of good Taste.

Of several Poets, who liv'd in *France* last Century, some of whom have oblig'd Us with most beautiful *latin* Odes, I don't know why not One undertook to imploy his Lights and his Talent to give Us a Relish for an Author they knew so well to imitate. Persuaded I am, that to translate and comment a Poet justly, especially a *lyric*, one shou'd be a Poet and have been exercis'd long in the same Kind. Men of the Profession discover a thousand Beautys to ev'ry other imperceptible, and are thereby better qualify'd to make them known. They, who engag'd me in this Undertaking, in all Appearance judg'd me capable of succeeding in that Respect, because *latin* Poesy, and particularly *lyric*, have ever been my Inclination and Amusement. Whilst I approve their Principle, which is true, it will be but too easily perceiv'd that they might have pitch'd upon a better Subject for promoting the Interests of HORACE.

The new Arrangement I give to the Pieces of my Author is not one of the least Advantages I propos'd to my self. The Disorder they were in demanded this Remedy. To the Merit of fine Genius and great Poet HORACE added another still more estimable: I mean great Modesty. Content with a small Number of sincere and knowing Critics, he produc'd his Works but slowly, nor was it 'till after the repeated Solicitations

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Solicitations of *Mæcenæ*s and his Friends that he resolved at last to give three Books of *Lyric* Pieces. *Augustus* a great while after press'd him to oblige the World with what he had compos'd since that Time, and those new Pieces furnish'd a fourth Book which he added to the three former. In short this Prince afterwards requir'd a new Collection of such ODES, SATIRES and EPISTLES as had not yet been made public. Out of all these Pieces the Poet pick'd the choicest, and made a Packet of them which he address'd to *Augustus*. These three Collections, which appear'd at different Times, did not contain all the Poems of HORACE that have been handed down to Us, nor were those Poems dispos'd in the same Order. After the Author's Death, among his Papers and in the Hands of his Friends were found several Pieces which had no Place among those which were dispers'd abroad in his Life-time. By Degrees these were added to the publish'd Copys; and according as new Ones were discover'd, every one mix'd 'em after his own Manner with the former. Two or three Ages after, the Grammarians having gather'd these different Copys, made such a Distribution of the Pieces and the Books as they judg'd proper, without any other Attention but that of distinguishing the ODES from the SATIRES and EPISTLES. This Arrangement made at Hazard and without the Application of Criticism is perpetuated even to Us, by the Multiplication of Manuscripts and printed Copys. Some of the Copyers and first Commentators have at the Head of each Piece set Titles and Arguments, after their Fashion. HORACE even in this Condition has ever preserv'd the Lineaments of a great Poet, which however, I may say, resemble him but faintly, because being displac'd they want that Relation and Symmetry which are necessary for an intire Likeness. By the Arrangement I have given, I have endeavor'd to restore ev'ry Thing to it's original Place. The Pieces mark'd by Facts I have dispos'd according to the Order of Time when those Facts happen'd, unless they were in the Nature of

Prefaces or Epilogues ; for then, without Regard to the Time of their Composition, I thought it my Duty to place them according to the Author's Intention. As to the others which do not carry with them any Circumstance of Time, as they have nothing interesting for History, it imports little in what Rank they are presented. However I have endeavor'd to digest them in all the Order they to me appear'd susceptible of, by reducing them to certain general Epochs drawn from their very Character. Those whose Thoughts, Sentiments and Stile breath a juvenil Air I have thrown into the first Books ; and into the last all those where Morality is predominant, and which seem to be the natural Fruits of a more advanc'd and mature Age. Hence accrue two Advantages not hitherto to be found in the Reading of HORACE. We can trace him in his Progress, by seeing where he set out, how he continu'd and where he finish'd. We shall be enabled to compare his first Productions with his last, and the intermediate ones with both. But the most considerable Advantage is, that in reading this excellent Poet we shall read a Series of faithful History of the first Emperor of *Rome*, written by an Author his Cotemporary, and adorn'd with all the Graces of the most charming Poetry. This alone shou'd suffice to justify the new Order I have given to the Works of my Author.

II. ANSWER TO DIFFICULTYS.

I Surely expect Difficultys to be made upon the Alterations observable in this Edition. Of all the Pieces of HORACE I leave but three in their ancient Situation. I ev'ry where prefix new Titles and new Arguments. One Piece I sometimes divide into Two, and of several I sometimes make but One. I weed out several Verses, which have constantly appear'd under the Poet's Name, in some others I change the receiv'd Distribution. The Name of *Epodes*, which the fifth Book of the *Odes* has hitherto born, I intirely sink. In fine, both in *Latin* and *French* I am an Orthographer,

Orthographer, who in all Probability shall not hit the Taste of ev'ry Body. There is a Boldness in all this, at least there are Innovations, which require to be supported, and for which 'tis incumbent on me to give Reasons to the Public. Before I enter into a Detail, I shall first obviate a general Objection that will doubtless be made to me upon the Authority of Manuscripts, from which it will be thought I have departed upon too slight Grounds.

Of what Weight Manuscripts are I am not ignorant, and am persuaded Commentators and Translators should not deviate from them but with extreme Reserve. The Respect I myself have pay'd to them will be visible in a great Number of my Remarks. The Reading most conformable to them I have almost ev'ry where prefer'd to that which other Critics have introduc'd, or my own Reflexions might have furnish'd. I have not even always publish'd in the Text what to me appear'd better, but have been content with proposing it in my Notes. But I have been still on my Guard not to extend the Respect I have had for those precious Monuments of ancient Authors to the Degree of a blind Deference. Valuable as they are, they are not exempt from Faults. We discover in them Omissions or Transpositions of Letters, Words, Verses, and ev'n intire Phrases. Alas! how cou'd it be otherwise? They are but Copys of Copys made upon other Copys, which have been themselves drawn from others till you ascend as high as the Originals. The Scribes who have transmitted them to us were not all equally knowing. Several were susceptible of Inattention, of Infidelity, of Precipitation. Those deplorable Ages, wherein Sciences were held in Contempt or lay bury'd in Oblivion, over-ran those literary Monuments, and impress'd on them the Traces of their Ignorance and Barbarousness. The Monks, who were the Depositaries of them, were at that Time more distinguish'd by their Sanctity than their Erudition. Some among them, who fancy'd themselves more capable than others, finding imperfect Copys, presum'd to supply the Defects. Hence that

Quantity of various Readings multiply'd by the Multiplication of Copys : from whence it has happen'd that the Reading which appears in the greatest Number is frequently the least true. *Aulus Gellius* testifies that long before the Birth of the Grammarians, whom we stile ancient, the Copys of *Virgil* were alter'd : and *Dr. Bentley* a learned *English-man*, who collated divers Manuscripts of *Terence*, the least corrupted of all the classic Authors, found therein twenty thousand different Readings. What the Amount if he had examin'd all the Manuscripts in Being of that Author? The same Critic assures that the various Readings of *Manilius* are twice as many as the Verses of this Poet. I am not at all surpris'd at it. The same Thing happens ev'ry Day in Songs, in Pieces of Poetry, and in other Works of Literature not printed, but dispers'd in written Copys. 'Tis rare to meet two of them exactly similar, and the most unfaithful are ordinarily the greatest Number. An ingenious Friend of mine having lost the Original of a theatric Piece found by Chance a Copy of it, wherein Numbers of Verses had been so alter'd, that tho' the Measure was preserv'd, he cou'd not trace either his own Thoughts or Expressions. He avow'd to me he cou'd not conceive how they had been able to furnish half Verses, to supply whole Ones, and even sev'ral together, full of Thoughts and Sentiments not his, which notwithstanding enter'd naturally into his Design. After this ought we to be surpris'd that sev'ral Verses, which are not *Ovid's*, have crept into his *Metamorphoses*, and that Numbers of others have invaded almost all the Editions of *Lucretius*? What I say of these two Poets may be likewise affirm'd of all ancient Writers. Had a single one escap'd so universal and inevitable a Fate, I shou'd dare to say it was by Miracle. An Abuse, I confess, may be made of this Principle, which seems to open a Gap to a Kind of *Pyrrhonism* in the Republic of Letters. But I am far from being willing to carry it to that Lenth. I pretend only to establish the Rights of Criticism; I mean a sound Criticism, which has Skill
to

to distinguish True from False, which doubts only where there is Room to doubt, which weighs Authority with the Weights of Reason, which does not blindly surrender it self to it's own Prejudices, which is bold without being licentious, in short, which, whilst it endeavors to perfect the Works of Antiquity, does not disfigure them. Without such Criticism I dare affirm that the Multiplicity of Manuscripts may be the Cause of more Harm than Good. Some Occasions there even are where a Reading authoriz'd by all the Manuscripts is evidently faulty.

After what I have say'd, I believe I shall be pardon'd the Changes to be found in this Edition. Perhaps too the World will not disapprove the Assurance I have had to stem the Torrent of Custom, in Order to deliver my Author from the Confusion he has been left in for several Ages, for Want of Courage to dissipate it, or rather thro' a mistaken Respect for the Instruments, who, maugre their Antiquity, are still subject to Revision. This Respect however has not hinder'd Critics from perceiving many Alterations. Some have been willing to divide into two the ODE *Laudabunt alii*, others reject this Partition, and pretend only that there is something left out; I maintain both the Partition and the Omission. An old Manuscript tags the ODE *Jam pauca aratro* to the ODE *Eheu fugaces*: but good Sense dictates that these two Pieces possess nothing in common. Some split in twain the ODE *Justum ac tenacem*, others do not. Among the former there are, who form an ODE apart of the four first Strophes, and there are who make it the latter Part of the ODE *Angustam amici*. *Odi profanum* has been set at the Head of the ODE *Regum timendorum*; Some indeed separate the first Strophe a little from the others; and I detach it intirely from them to make it the Prologue of the SECULAR POEM. I make two ODES, one of which begins by *Dive quem proles*, and the other by *Spiritum Phœbus*; and among those who make but One of them, some leave an emty Space after *rite vocanti*, and others leave none. They are not agreed upon the two ODES

Dianam teneræ, and *Dive quem proles*: are they *secular Pieces*, or are they not? The same Question may be made upon the *ODE Poscimus si quid*, and this Question is important to decide the Place we ought to assign to these diff'rent Pieces. The *ODE Exegi monumentum* is still left at the End of the third Book, for Want of comprehending that *HORACE* compos'd it with a Design of being plac'd at the End of his *lyric Poems*. The Piece *Vertumnum Janumque* was in the Poet's Intention the Preface to his moral Poems; and yet they have rang'd it in the Number of his *EPISTLES*. The two *SATIRES Hoc erat in votis*, and *Jam dudum ausulto* form but one and the same Piece in several Manuscripts. What deceiv'd the Grammarians was, that there are in the latter some Things which relate to the former: but that only proves that the one was made before the other. The *SATIRE Nempe incompósito* has been posted at the End of a Book on account of the last Verse *subscribe libello* ill understood. In fine, *THE ART OF POETRY* has not always had a fix'd Place in the Manuscripts, sometimes it has appear'd at the Head of the *SATIRES*, sometimes at the Tail of the *EPISTLES*. This Variation of Manuscripts demonstrates there are Errors in them, and gives Criticism a full Right to apply a Remedy. I have made use of this Right, and it will be visible in my Remarks upon each Piece that I have made no Change without good Reasons. As to the rest, in digesting the Poems of *HORACE* into a new Order, I have done no more than what has been done already with the *Harangues* of *Demosthenes*, the *Epistles* of *Cicero*, and several other Works. Far from looking on this as an Outrage, the Public has been oblig'd to the Editors for imploying their Lights in clearing the Date of these diff'rent Pieces, and for having given them an Arrangement which adds a new Value to them.

The Reason I had for changing the Disposition of the Pieces has oblig'd me to reform also the Titles and Arguments. Several were badly prefix'd, and 'tis certain they did not proceed from the Hand of
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HORACE, which may be affirm'd equally of almost all the ancient Poets. ODE, which has been given for a Title to the *lyric* Poems of our Author, did not appear so early as his Time in *Latin*. *Sermones* is no more futable to SATIRES than to ODES and EPISTLES. It signifies in general ev'ry Sort of Composition regarding Sciences and polite Arts, and HORACE has sev'ral Times imploy'd it in this Sense.

Another Change, which perhaps I shall not so easily be pardon'd, is the Partition of some ODES into Two, and the Reunion of several into One. In the Remarks on those Pieces I have assign'd my Reasons, which I flatter myself are of a Nature to satisfy ev'ry Mind to which Prejudice has left the Liberty of judging. The *secular* Poem doubtless will not fail to fix the Attention of the Learned. This Name has hitherto been limited to the ODE *Phæbe sylvarum*; and yet in *that* HORACE speaks expressly of three Songs :

*Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos
Ter die claro totiesque gratâ
Noctæ frequentes.*

These three Songs I have found in our Poet; I have done more, I have discover'd in him a Prologue and an Epilogue, and of these five Parts I have form'd a Body of Work equally capable of striking by it's Singularity, and pleasing by it's Beauty. It does not become Me to mention the Satisfaction express'd by all those to whom I have shewn this Poem in the Form I here present it. All I can wish more advantageous is, that the Public may judg as favorably.

Some Persons, who lik'd my Design well enough, wish'd, that without changing any Thing in the receiv'd Distribution of the Books and Pieces, I had been content with proposing the new Distribution in a particular Table, and with fixing the true Epoch of ev'ry Piece in the Life of HORACE. This Thought occur'd to me at first; but ev'ry Thing well consider'd, the present Disorder of those Pieces being incontesti-

able, I judg'd that we must first or last proceed to a new Arrangement, and that it was as good for me to run the Risk of it, as leave it to another to incur. I add that the Scheme propos'd to me had it's Difficultys with Respect both to the *ONES* which I divide into two, and to those which I form by the Assemblage of several. How cou'd I marshal under the same Title and the same Argument Pieces that for their Subject have nothing in common? What Trouble wou'd it give to hunt in three or four diff'rent Books for the five Parts which compose the *secular Poem*? What Multiplication of Remarks must it cost to advertise the Public of this perplex'd Disorder upon Occasion of each of these Parts? These Reasons and sev'ral others, which cannot be perceiv'd but in the Course of a Work, determin'd me not to do the Thing by Halves, and to persue the Execution of my Project in it's full Extent. Nevertheless I have not fail'd to respect the ancient System, if a confus'd Heap of Pieces thrown together at Random without Series and without Connexion can be call'd a System, and I have found Means to preserve it's Remembrance at the very Time I intirely demolish it. For that End I have drawn up an alphabetic Table of all the Pieces of *HORACE*, and upon two Columns have presented the old and new Distribution. That might suffice to shew at a single Glance of the Eye the Difference of both. But not satisfy'd with that, I have presented the same Thing in particular Tables plac'd at the Head of each Book; I have ev'n push'd my Attention farther, for in the Margin opposit to the first Verse of each Piece I have mark'd the Place it occupy'd in the preceding Editions. This is all I cou'd dispense with myself to do in Favor of ancient Prejudice.

I shall say but little about the Changes I have made in the Verses, because I have explan'd myself on that Head in the Remarks. I only add here some general Reasons which induc'd me to retrench some of them. In the *SATIRES* appear'd a Verse or two repeated very improperly, of which I thought it my Duty to discharge

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HORACE. When he repeats his Thoughts, he is careful to vary his Expressions. In two Places he translates the Beginning of the *Odyssey*. This was a Kind of Citation, which seem'd to challenge, at least to permit the Repetition of the same Terms: and yet he chuses rather to translate the same Passage two different Ways than to copy himself. In the *EPISTLE Trojani belli* he says:

*Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulysssem,
Qui domitor Trojæ multorum providus urbes
Et mores hominum inspexit; latumque per æquor,
Dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
Pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.*

In the *EPISTLE to Piso* and his two Sons he is satisfy'd with saying:

*Dic mihi, Musa, virum, captæ post tempora Trojæ
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.*

In the *SATIRE Quæ virtus & quanta, boni*, and in the *EPISTLE Humano capiti*, I have retrench'd these two Verses:

*Jejunus rarè stomachus vulgaria temnit.
Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.*

But others suspected them as spurious before me. Besides what I have say'd of them in the proper Place, I perceive a farther Reason for their Exclusion common to both. In the manuscript Copys of the Poets which Children were set to read, their Masters frequently put in the Margin sententious or proverbial Verses, which had, or appear'd to have, some Analogy to the Author's Thought, and comprehended it in a few Words. These the succeeding Scribes have more than once inserted in the Text; and Dr. Bentley remarks that all the moral Distichs at the End of each Fable of *Avienas* are forged in the same Manner, and are not to be found in *Gale's Manuscript*. But

But the most considerable Retrenchment I have made regards two Parentheses of four Verses each, which appear'd in the ODES *Æli vetusto* and *Qualem ministrum*. At first I resolv'd to leave them in the Text and distinguish 'em only by different Characters; But Persons of a Taste and Criticism superior to Prejudices, have found the Reasons so strong, which I urg'd to prove these Parentheses not to be HORACE's, that they absolutely persuaded me to extirpate those Wens which so much disfigur'd him. Shou'd I be ask'd how it was possible that four Verses all together cou'd slip into the Copys, I shall make the same Question upon the several ancient Poets I mention'd above, particularly *Lucretius*, in whom are found in many Places such Numbers of postic Verses, that near two hundred are computed to be dispers'd thro' his six Books *Of the Nature of Things*. The ancient Piece intitled *Pervigilium Veneris* has likewise receiv'd similar Wounds in more Places than one, as were easy to prove. Some Grammarians or bad Poets, who frequently exercis'd themselves in enlarging the Thought of an Author, might set down this Addition in the Margin of their Manuscript, a Transcriber might afterwards transport it into the Text, and others might presently adopt it. The Depositaries of those Manuscripts were very eager to insert in them Verses not to be found in others. This Singularity was a Bait for the Curious, who spar'd no Money, to procure an only Monument. This Principle of Alteration is not unknown to Persons conversant with Manuscripts, and capable of examining in a critical Manner the Text of ancient Authors.

After what I have said upon the new Partition of Verse which I have made in the ODE *Lydia dic per omnes*, I believe I have no farther Occasion to justify myself to Persons a little acquainted with certain Particularitys of Prosody, who might blame me for this Innovation.

The Title of EPODE has been usually set at the Head of the last Book of HORACE's ODES. Never
was

was this Title to my Taſt, and I think myſelf indifpenſably oblig'd here to produce the Reaſons which prevail'd with me to retrench it. In the firſt Place, I think this Word does in no wiſe belong to the Jurisdiction of *Latin* Poefy. The *Greeks*, from whom *We* have receiv'd it, us'd it to ſignify the third and laſt Part of a Song divided into *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*. Now the *Latins* have no lyric Pieces of ſimilar Compoſition; and conſequently have no Right to uſe this Term. Secondly, we don't find it appear'd in the Time of good *Latin*, and it is certain the Grammarians did not introduce it into Poetry 'till three Ages after the Reign of *Auguſtus*, which is not a Reaſon ſufficiently good for maintaining it here. Thirdly, if they pretend to give the Name of *Epode* to the ten firſt Pieces of this Book, becauſe they find in them a ſhort Verſe plac'd regularly after a longer, I don't ſee why they ſhou'd not equally attribute it to all other Pieces, where a long Verſe is conſtantly follow'd by a ſhorter, as happens in *Elegy*, and in ſeveral ſorts of *ODES*. No Reaſon can be aſſign'd for this Difference, which *Victorinus* certainly did not acknowledg, ſince he has extended this Name to other Compoſitions of Verſes. Beſides, by the ſame Right they might as well have intitled the third Book of the *ODES* the Book of *Alcaics*, inasmuch as the firſt ſix Pieces of this Book were *Alcaics* in the old Diſtribution. Fourthly, they ſay that as in *Greek* *ODES*, what they call'd *Epode*, clos'd the Song, ſo they call *Epode* in *Latin* Poefy a ſhort Verſe, which, following a long One, terminated the Period, and clos'd the Senſe which was in ſuſpenſe in the former Verſe. Now if this be true, 'tis neceſſary to retrench from the Number of *Epodes* moſt of the Pieces to which they give this Name, ſince they very often are deſtitute of this Condition, and ſince the Senſe does not always finiſh with each Diſtich. One of our late Commentators * treats all his Predeceſſors as well

* *John du Hamel.*

meaning

meaning *People, boni homines*; he takes a quite different Road to maintain the Name of *Epodes*, and pretends this Title was given to the fifth Book of the ODES of HORACE to denote it to be a Collection of his lewd Pieces, *APOTON EPÔDON, obscenorum*. It was no great Trouble to produce a Discovery as little satisfactory as the Explication of other Interpreters. This Book contain'd no more of this sort of Pieces than some of the preceding Books, at least there were too few in it to give a Right of extending this infamous Title to the whole Book. The most reasonable Thing that can be said in my Opinion is, that HORACE having publish'd in his Lifetime but four Books of *lyric Poems*, as I remark'd already, there was afterwards and at various Times a sufficient Number of them found for forming a fifth Book, which the Grammarians call'd the Book of the *Epodes* in the same Sense that they us'd *Epilogus, EPIMUTHION*, that is to say, *the Book added to the ODES*. But besides that I set but small Value on the Authority of the Grammarians in that Point; the new Form I give to HORACE's Poems renders the Usage of this Term, in any Sense, intirely useless to me. Resolv'd I am therefore absolutely to proscribe the Name of *Epodes*, and simply to call the last Book of HORACE's *lyric Poems* the fifth Book of the ODES, and herein I conform to the Title given it by an ancient Manuscript which *Muretus* had in his Hands. *Vidi veterem librum*, says he, *in quo hic quintus odarum liber inscribatur*. This Critic adds that he sees no Reason for attaching the Name of *Epodes* to this Book, and that all, which the Grammarians have said about it, is frivolous and easy to refute. *Cur EPODOS liber hic vocetur non equidem satis intelligo. Quæ ad hanc inscriptionem confirmandam adferuntur à Grammaticis levia sanè sunt, & hujusmodi ut nullo negotio refelli queant*. Some modern Poets have compos'd *latin lyric Pieces* divided as in the *greek Poesy*, and have given the Name of *Epode* to the third Part of those Pieces; wherein I

cannot condemn them. I have only to object, that some of them have taken the Liberty of making Combinations of Measures which the ancient *latin* Poets have left Us no Examples of; a Thing by no means allow'd Us, as I have prov'd in another Place, where I have marshal'd such Pieces among the *satur-nian* ODES of irregular Composition.

Orthography is a Point upon which the Public perhaps will be less dispos'd to grant me Pardon, and upon which perhaps I have less Need to crave it. I write *Greek* without Accents and with the same Characters as *Latin* and *French*. The Mischief is not great; I could even prove it the best Way never to write it otherwise. At least I have not done it without Authority. Mr. *Dacier* has often us'd it before Me in his Remarks upon *HORACE*. The modern *Jews*, that are dispers'd thro' the different Countrys of *Europe*, use *Hebrew* Characters in writing *Greek*, *Spanish* and *German*; and the Learned agree that the *Samaritans* having from the *Jews* their Neighbors receiv'd the *Pentateuch* and the Book of *Josua* in *Hebrew*, transcrib'd them in *Samaritan* Characters. *Pliny* tells Us the old *Athenians* imploy'd *Latin* Characters in writing their own Language, and proves it by this old Inscription NAUSICRATES TISAMENOU ATHENAIOS, L. 7. c. 58. In fine, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* informs Us, in the fourth Book of his History, that the Treaty concluded between *Tarquin* the Proud and the *Gabians* was written in *greek* Letters, though in the *latin* Tongue, upon the Base of a Pillar of the Temple of *Jupiter*.

As to what concerns *latin Orthography*, I shou'd be glad to know upon what Principles some Persons, who are not even good Grammarians, presume to decide. *Quintilian* acknowledges the *Romans* had no uniform Rules for it, and that their Manner of Writing was never well adjusted. We find a Difference in the Medals, Marbles and Manuscripts; and the Grammarians We call ancient do not always agree. I have endeavor'd to keep clear of the Barbarousness of

of the first and last Ages, and adhere to the Etymology; so that without running into Extremes I am commonly guided by the Custom most generally imbrac'd in the Days of good *Latin*. In a Word, I have not taken up an Orthography at Random, as most People usually do, I have not made a single Step without being determin'd by good Reasons, and scarce is there a Word that I can't account for my writing in one Manner rather than another. For Example, I always write *heres*, to signify an *Heir*, and not *hæres*. The Ancients wrote this Word without a *Diphthong*; many learned Critics and Grammarians have retain'd this Writing; and tho' it should come from *herus*, as some pretend, that does not hinder the first Syllable from being long, because the liquid R has a Right to make it so, which no one will dispute, who has ever so little dipt into the true Principles of Prosody. But *Gerard Vossius* has propos'd a more likely Etymology, which justifies the Length of the first Syllable.

The Publick is better qualify'd to judg of the *french* Orthography, upon which it remains that I explaine myself. As living Languages are in a perpetual Flux, because they are subjected to the Caprice of Custom, it is impossible to have any fix'd Rules either for the Pronunciation of Words or the Manner of writing them. When therefore Custom has chang'd upon the first Point, 'tis necessary then to change upon the second. This Principle is incontestable, no one can depart from it without plunging into Absurditys, and the more he enters into the Detail of this Proof, the more will these Absurditys be multiply'd. To the Persuasion of this Truth we must attribute the almost universal Tendency in Writers of approaching, as near as possible, the Pronunciation; a Tendency so notorious, that, maugre the Efforts of some poor Spirits, Slaves to Prejudice, the Torrent of Authors deviates ev'ry Day more and more from the ancient Orthography. *P. Buffier*, in his excellent *french* Grammar publish'd in 1709, names many Authors of Re-

putation

putation who have follow'd the new, and he adds that of the great Number of Books, which appear'd for ten Years before, more than two Thirds of those which he had read were printed after this Manner. This Number is much increas'd since and still increas'es daily. I believ'd myself oblig'd to conform to a Custom so reasonable, so commodious and so reigning. I have however us'd Reserve in sev'ral Words, not thinking it necessary to push the Matter so far as some Authors have done before Me. I have not absolutely debar'd myself the Use of the Y, tho' I think it intirely useles; but I have only employ'd it in the Word *yeux* and in *y* the Adverb of Place. I have preserv'd the *e* in all the Words where 'tis pronounc'd as an *a* before an *n*, though some write the *a* instead of *e*. I have retain'd the *ph* where *f* might suffice. In short I was willing to avoid a certain Excess in the *french* as well as in the *latin* Orthography: as to the rest, I have taken from the new Authors all that to me appear'd reasonable and sufficiently establish'd. They who stand up for the ancient Manner of Writing boast in vain of it's Advantage in preserving the Etymology of Words. For this Advantage can be only considerable at the best for the learn'd Languages, such as *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, which are dead Languages; but is of no account in living Ones, wherein Custom alone is no less the Rule for Writing than for Speaking. The *Italians*, the *Spaniards* and all other People who are fond of cultivating the Sciences, utterly disregard it, and in our Language even they who most exclaim against the new Orthography write many Words contrary to Etymology. Notwithstanding all these Reasons, in this Edition will be sometimes found the very same Words written in a different Manner. The Negligence of Compositors and the difficulty of reducing 'em to an uniform Orthography have occasion'd this Variety.

As I have in some Places appear'd not very strongly prepossess'd in Favor of the ancient Grammarians,
I im-

I embrace this Opportunity of declaring my Thoughts of them in a few Words. Doubtless to all Lovers of the *latin* Tongue these Authors are respectable. Their Works have I read with Pleasure, at least with Profit, and they will always be serviceable to those who are capable of making a just Estimate of them; a just Estimate I say, for 'tis easy to err by attributing to them either more or less Authority than they deserve. Those We stile ancient Grammarians are by many Ages posterior to the Reign of pure *Latinity*. This serves in some Degree to sink that Authority of theirs which might be urg'd against Me. I add, that in their Works We must carefully distinguish two Things, the Rules and the Terms. The Rules are the soundest Part, they are the Axioms of *latin* Grammar, that is to say *Latinity* itself, reduc'd to certain Principles; besides, the Goodness of these Rules depends upon Custom, such as it subsisted, not in the Days when those Grammarians wrote, but in the Age when ancient *Rome's* most famous Writers flourish'd. Wherefore We must make a Choice among the very Rules, and weigh the Authoritys by which they are supported. Their Terms of Art ought not to be so much regarded since they want the same Force. They are almost all the Invention of those Grammarians, who are not constantly uniform among themselves in the Use they make of 'em, nor in the Signification they give 'em. Many too of those Terms are badly invented, and include a quite different Idea to that which they have attach'd to 'em. Nor ought we to lay greater Stress upon their Citations, among which I have found sev'ral, containing Words evidently incompatible with the Thought of the Poet whence they are pretended to be drawn; several too, alter'd in such a Manner that the proper Measure of each Verse is no longer to be known. Hence 'tis manifest they quoted frequently from Memory to save the Trouble of consulting Manuscripts, or, their Copys were strangely disfigur'd. After this I thought I had a Right
of

of examining their Decisions sometimes, and of withdrawing from their Authority to submit to that of Reason.

III. GENERAL REFLECTIONS,
WHICH COU'D NOT HAVE PLACE IN THE BODY
OF THIS WORK.

FROM the Moment a Man of Letters enterprises a Work upon an Author, such Author becomes ordinarily his Idol, to which he devotes both Mind and Heart with so blind a Bigotry, as to leave himself no other Liberty but that of praising, admiring and adoring. Whatever Esteem I may have conceiv'd for HORACE, I have kept myself on my Gard against Seduction. Persuaded that the principal Design of Works of this Sort is to form the Taste of Youth, and that this Taste is no less form'd by remarking the Faults that have escap'd the greatest Men of Antiquity, than the Perfections which distinguish them, I propos'd to display both equally. Among the numberless Beautys, which shine in this Poet more than in any other, some Negligences have I found, which I have taken the Liberty to note, and it will be easily perceiv'd that Prepossession has not injur'd Equity. I have, for Example, found fault with the Conduct of some ODES, whose Conclusion appears to me not sufficiently to support the Dignity of the Subject. I have even ventur'd to affirm that the SATIRE *Proscripti regis*, and the EPISTLE *Quæ sit hyems Velia* were to the other Works of HORACE, in my Opinion, much inferior. I have disapprov'd some lyric Verses, whose Cadence is not sufficiently correct. In short I have in many Places censur'd Thoughts, Sentiments, Turns and Expressions which I conceiv'd reprehensible. But I have also in many other Places justify'd the Poet against the Temerity of Critics, as I shall further do here upon two Points, where, I think, they have condemn'd him slightly.

Some

Some Writers of Reputation have reproach'd him with a great Default in his ODES. They require, that ev'ry Strophe comprehend a finish'd Sense, that the Thoughts be rang'd in a Kind of Gradation, and that the Close always present some lively and ingenious Stroke, capable of causing Surprise and giving Exercise to the Understanding. With Permission I shall say, that to me it is plain those Gentlemen, whose Merit I otherwise respect, have not an Idea sufficiently just of *lyric* Poetry. HORACE assuredly knew wherein the true Character of the ODE consists, he consider'd it not as a Tissue of *Epigrams* methodically dispos'd and digested into Clauses, but as the Fruit of Inspiration, where the Genius shines more than Wit, and where the Poet, without observing any visible Art or Method, thinks only of employing the two great Springs of Poetry, namely the *Sublime* and the *Pathetic*. This affected Care of measuring one's Thoughts proportionably to a precise Number of Verses, and of inchasing at stated Intervals Brilliances cut with Art, leaves no Sphere for Enthusiasm to expatiate in, or rather absolutely destroys *lyric* Poetry by robbing it of it's main Essential.

They have further attack'd HORACE on the Subject of his Digressions. Some there are in his SATIRES, upon which I readily pass Sentence. I know not if they can be call'd Digressions, since they have no Connexion with the principal Subject of the Piece. *Moral* Discourses, wherein 'tis propos'd to establish some Truth, require something more just, and more closely prosecuted. Those indeed which are found in the EPISTLES are sufficiently justify'd by the Liberty allow'd by the *epistolary* Style of Speaking on many different Subjects, and of passing from one to another without Regard to Connexion. But is it as easy to shelter him from the Reproach some Critics endeavor to cast upon him of Abandoning himself frequently to *lyric* Excursions, which hurry him absolutely out of his Subject? In answer to this Question, I say first that HORACE had a full Right to indulge to those

Excursions, as they are pleas'd to call them ; secondly that if he has made Use of his Right, he has done it with a Discretion that cannot but turn to his Glory. Digressions have in all Ages been allow'd to Orators ; any Reason of Utility or Agreeableness is to them sufficient for the Use of 'em without Fear of Censure. So proper are they to *elegiac* Poesy, that they constitute Part of it's Character, as *Tarquinius Gallutio* a *Jesuit* of Reputation has very well prov'd in his Treatise of *Elegy*. In fine, they are as it were consecrated in the *PSALMS* of *David*, which are properly *ODES* in Prose. These *Sallys*, excus'd nay admir'd by them in other Compositions, why shou'd they regard as a Ramble of the Mind in *lyric* Poesy, where the Imagination has without Contradiction an ampler Sphere to expatiate in than in any other ? Will they say that *HORACE* has carry'd this Licence extravagantly far ? If those who presume to condemn him had accurately examin'd the conduct of his Pieces, I question if they wou'd have form'd a judgment so disadvantageous, and so unjust. Of nine or ten Places in which they reproach him for these pretended wild Flights, I find but the *ODE Impios parræ*, where this Reproach can have the least Foundation. The Story of *Europa* is not absolutely forein to his Subject, as I have shewn in my Remarks upon this Piece. All that can be cavil'd at with any Color is the Lenth of it ; yet it may be justly reply'd that 'tis handled with so much Art, that the *Graceful* and the *Pathetic* make the Lenth of it intirely disappear. In the *ODES* *Mercuri nam te, Albus ut obscuro, Justum ac tenacem, Ille & nefasto, Sic te Diva potens Cypri, Cælo tonantem, Qualem ministrum, Descende cælo*, it will be seen that there are no Digressions, or that they don't exceed the Libertys which Pieces of this Kind allow, and which no one can reasonably dispute. I only add here that *Gallutio* seems to me not to have comprehended clearly the Nature of such *lyric Episodes*, since he compares them to the *Episodes* of *epic* and *dramatic* Poesy. The Comparison is not just in all Respects. An *Episode* which wou'd ingross the
Half

Half or two Thirds of an *epic* Poem or a *theatric* Piece wou'd be defective, whereas a Digression of this Lenth can be supported in an ODE.

The Singing of *lyric* Verses is a Point which has mightily exertis'd the curious Sagacity of the Learned, and is likely to do so much longer. For ever will this Mystery be impenetrable, unless We can acquire a more particular Knowledge of ancient Music. Without examining then whether the ODES of HORACE were sung or no, it shall suffice me to say, that some there are which appear to have been compos'd for Singing, such as the ODE *Mercuri nam te*, those which compose the *secular Poem*, and a few others. What gives me Room to imagin so is, that the Poet has in these Pieces had a particular Attention not to divide a Word in two different Verses, and to finish the Sense with each Strophe, an Attention he did not imploy in many other Pieces. But whatever this Singing was, 'tis likely all the Strophes of one and the same ODE were not sung upon the same Air. It wou'd be very difficult to imagin how this Uniformity cou'd subsist without cutting many Words in the Singing and even many Phrases, which wou'd produce an Effect equally disagreeable and ridiculous.

Among the Poets HORACE propos'd for his Imitation, *Pindar* and *Alcæus* have been particularly his Models: such the Effect of his good Taste. The Stile of the one and the other is noble, numerous and correct. So judicious a Choice had all the Success that cou'd be wish'd. HORACE is not inferior to *Pindar* for Spirit of Enthusiasm and poetic Rage; in this alone he differ that his Ardor is more equal and regular. The *pindari* Fire blazes in all it's Majesty in the ODES *Bacchum in remotis*, *Pindarum quisquis*, *Qualem ministrum* and *Quæ cura patrum*. Ev'ry where else he is more intent upon seizing the Character of *Alcæus*, this was his favorit Poet, and to this Esteem of Preference we must attribute the Elogys he gives him in several Parts of his Poems.

I have

I have censured in HORACE the bad Cadence of some Verses, which I have call'd a Relick of the *grecian* Measures. It is a Reflexion I have made, and which 'tis easy to prove, that the *Latins* refin'd their Versification by Degrees as they deviated from *greek* Cadences. Before HORACE *Catullus* publish'd some *lyric* Essays, but the Turn of Verse is widely different in these two Poets. The *Sapphics* of *Catullus* are of a more free Cadence, those of HORACE are more correct; the former have something of the harsh and even of the prosaic, the latter are of a Stile more poetic and flowing: and I dare say those of *Statius*, tho' few in Number, carry it perhaps in this Point above those of HORACE. In the like Manner *Tibullus* has fewer *greek* Cadences than *Propertius*, and *Ovid* is the One of the Three who has garded best against them. The same Thing may be affirm'd of *Catullus* and *Martial*; both have left Us *iambic* and *phaleucian* Verses, but the latter, tho' to the other in many Respects inferior, carries it notwithstanding for Correction and Harmony of Cadence in both Kinds of Verse. We need only a Taste and an Ear to perceive this Difference.

Having now spoken in general of what regards my Author, it remains to treat of some Points which concern myself. When I undertook to translate and comment HORACE, as it was in no other View but that of facilitating the Intelligence, and rend'ring the Reading of him more useful and agreeable, it was far from my Intention to frustrate him of the Services done him by the Translators and Commentators that preceded Me. Doubtless Mr. *Dacier* has given Us some excellent Things. When ever he seem'd to me to have taken off the Impressions perfectly, I have not sought to differ from him thro' a Spirit of Singularity or a Meanness of Jealousy, which ev'ry Man of Honor shou'd equally abhor. The best Things therefore in the Work of that learned Commentator will be found here. For the same Reason, where *P. Tarteron* has seiz'd the natural and proper Expression in our Tongue,

which justly answers the *latin* One, I have taken Care not to avoid it. Had I acted otherwise I shou'd have been guilty of Injustice to HORACE, to the Public and to myself.

In what I make the Fidelity of a Translator consist I have explan'd in the first Article of this Preface. So far have I push'd this Fidelity, that I have endeavour'd to introduce into the *French* some *Epithets* purely poetic, when I thought I cou'd preserve them without Violation to their Graces. Several others however I have suppress'd, when they appear'd absolutely useless, or cou'd only serve to make the Translation languid; and I have often afforded Equivalents for them, which, tho' of a different Sense, were likely to have a better Effect. For Example, in the first Song of the *secular Poem* I have put the *invincible Achilles*, to answer to *Phthius Achilles*, substituting an *Epithet*, which characterises the *greek* Hero, for the Word *Phthius*, which simply marks his Country. I have likewise taken the Liberty of inserting *Epithets* into the Translation in some Places where there are none in the Text. Thus in the first Ode, I have put *un char bruiant*, a rattling Car, where the Poet says only *curriculo*, in order to support the Expression, to help to fill up the Image of the *Latin*, and to give, as nearly as I cou'd, the same Measure to the *French*. I have done something more. It is pretty much HORACE's Manner not to set down in his Compositions any other Series than that of his Thoughts, and to neglect the Usage of those specify'd Transitions, which are as the Thread of the Discourse, and which conduct the Mind from one Thought to another by making it perceive their Concatenation. I have added those Connexions, which are wanting in the *Latin*; the *French* seems to require 'em; or rather cannot dispense with their Absence. Were HORACE now living, and to attempt the Translation of a Poet of old *Rome*, persuaded I am he would use the same Libertys. 'Tis with literal Translations as with those Carcasses that are preserv'd intire in certain Earths. They are indeed

indeed the Bodys of Men, with all their Parts rang'd in the same Manner; but as they no longer retain any Principle of Life, they are no longer Men. Of this Sentiment is Cicero in his Book *Of the perfect Orator* (*de opt. gen. orat.*) where speaking of the two Harangues of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* which he had translated he says: *non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servavi; non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed adpendere.* "I judg'd it not necessary to subject myself to render Word for Word, but only to express the whole Force and Propriety of the Terms: for I did not think myself oblig'd to give the Reader those Terms by Number, but by Weight."

In my Notes and Dissertations I have propos'd to avoid the common Defaults I remark'd in others. Some are content to render the Text intelligible, without once imploying either Criticism or Erudition. Others vainly fond of giving a high Idea of their own Sufficiency pour forth so vast an Overflow of Learning, that the Author is quickly snatch'd from the Reader's Sight. Others copiously powder out on Passages in themselves plane and easy, but have the Slight of running rapidly o'er Difficultys, without once glancing on them. In short, the Sense of Words they explaine, Thoughts they unravel, what regards History, Fable and Moral they illustrate; but never aim at shewing Us the Character, the Design, the Conduct of a Piece; at discovering the Art of the Composition, the Delicacy of the Turns, the Magnificence of the Figures, the Beauty of the Elocution, the Graces of the Poetry; hence they dismiss the Reader with a sterill Admiration, without capacitating him to judge of a Performance, to imitate it's Perfections, to avoid it's Defaults. I can affirm I have neglected nothing to secure myself from such Reproaches. As the Text of *HORACE* was of my Labor the Subject and the Matter, my first Care was with the Criticism of a Grammarian to examine *that*. Oft have I review'd it, scanning and sifting ev'ry Word and ev'ry Phrase; assisted by the various

which justly answers the *latin* One, I have taken Care not to avoid it. Had I acted otherwise I shou'd have been guilty of Injustice to HORACE, to the Public and to myself.

In what I make the Fidelity of a Translator consist I have explan'd in the first Article of this Preface. So far have I push'd this Fidelity, that I have endeavour'd to introduce into the *French* some *Epithets* purely poetic, when I thought I cou'd preserve them without Violation to their Graces. Several others however I have suppress'd, when they appear'd absolutely useless, or cou'd only serve to make the Translation languid; and I have often afforded Equivalents for them, which, tho' of a different Sense, were likely to have a better Effect. For Example, in the first Song of the *secular Poem* I have put the *invincible Achilles*, to answer to *Phthius Achilles*, substituting an *Epithet*, which characterises the *greek* Hero, for the Word *Phthius*, which simply marks his Country. I have likewise taken the Liberty of inserting *Epithets* into the Translation in some Places where there are none in the Text. Thus in the first ODE, I have put *un char bruiant*, a rattling Car, where the Poet says only *curriculo*, in order to support the Expression, to help to fill up the Image of the *Latin*, and to give, as nearly as I cou'd, the same Measure to the *French*. I have done something more. It is pretty much HORACE's Manner not to set down in his Compositions any other Series than that of his Thoughts, and to neglect the Usage of those specify'd Transitions, which are as the Thread of the Discourse, and which conduct the Mind from one Thought to another by making it perceive their Concatenation. I have added those Connexions, which are wanting in the *Latin*; the *French* seems to require 'em; or rather cannot dispense with their Absence. Were HORACE now living, and to attempt the Translation of a Poet of old *Rome*, persuaded I am he would use the same Libertys. 'Tis with literal Translations as with those Carcasses that are preserv'd intire in certain Earths. They are indeed

indeed the Bodys of Men, with all their Parts rang'd in the same Manner; but as they no longer retain any Principle of Life, they are no longer Men. Of this Sentiment is Cicero in his Book *Of the perfect Orator* (*de opt. gen. orat.*) where speaking of the two Harangues of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* which he had translated he says: *non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servari; non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed adpendere.* "I judg'd it not necessary to subject myself to render Word for Word, but only to express the whole Force and Propriety of the Terms: for I did not think myself oblig'd to give the Reader those Terms by Number, but by Weight."

In my Notes and Dissertations I have propos'd to avoid the common Defaults I remark'd in others. Some are content to render the Text intelligible, without once imploying either Criticism or Erudition. Others vainly fond of giving a high Idea of their own Sufficiency pour forth so vast an Overflow of Learning, that the Author is quickly snatch'd from the Reader's Sight. Others copiously powder out on Passages in themselves plane and easy, but have the Slight of running rapidly o'er Difficultys, without once glancing on them. In short, the Sense of Words they explaine, Thoughts they unravel, what regards History, Fable and Moral they illustrate; but never aim at shewing Us the Character, the Design, the Conduct of a Piece; at discovering the Art of the Composition, the Delicacy of the Turns, the Magnificence of the Figures, the Beauty of the Elocution, the Graces of the Poetry; hence they dismiss the Reader with a sterile Admiration, without capacitating him to judge of a Performance, to imitate it's Perfections, to avoid it's Defaults. I can affirm I have neglected nothing to secure myself from such Reproaches. As the Text of *HORACE* was of my Labor the Subject and the Matter, my first Care was with the Criticism of a Grammarian to examine *that*. Oft have I review'd it, scanning and sifting ev'ry Word and ev'ry Phrase; assisted by the various

Lectons of Manuscripts, by the Conjectures of the Learned, by my own particular Reflexions, I have endeavored to ascertain all it's Parts, and, in the best Manner I was able, to heal all the Wounds it had from the Hands of Scribes and Editors receiv'd. This Labor, disagreeable as it is, becomes however necessary. If We don't begin by examining the Truth of an Author's Text, what Risk do We run of authorising unknown Words, or such as never were of polite Usage, of giving defective Constructions as Elegances, of introducing insensibly a *latin* Tongue full of Barbarisms. Besides the Succors I have drawn for *this* from the *Scholiasts*, *Pulmanus*, *Cruguius*, *Lambinus*, *Muretus*, and *de le Fevre*, chiefly have I profited by the Labors of two excellent Critics of our Times, Dr. *Bentley* and Mr. *Cuningam*, whose Sagacity supported by a vast Fund of Erudition and an ample Use of Manuscripts has contributed to re-establish the Text of HORACE in sundry Places, where it was disfigur'd. I make the Emulation which set these two *Knowers* at Odds to turn out to the Poet's Advantage. In many Points they agree. Such Harmony I generally regard as a Decision, tho' sometimes I dissent for more solid Reasons. When they engage in hot Debate, I examin the Reasons which divide them, in Order to range myself on one side rather than the other, or to take a third Course quite different where I may find more Safety. In the Corrections I myself have ventur'd to make, I have taken Care to alledg the Reasons of Necessity or Probability which oblig'd Me therein to deviate from the Manuscripts and Editions.

The Changes I have made, whether for the Reformation of the Text, or the Arrangement of the Pieces, demanded not only Notes, but Dissertations. The Notes are short and not stuff'd with the Plunder of pedantic Lore. I have not therein affected to make an ostentatious Shew of my Learning, but to render HORACE intelligible: Step by Step I have follow'd him, and never lost Sight of him. In the Place of a long Train of *greek* and *latin* Citations often useless, and ever tiresom, I have substituted Remarks of Taste, particularly

in the ODES, by displaying all the Riches of the most beautiful *lyric* Poetry that ever was; and this I have perform'd with so much the closer Care as this Part of HORACE's Works had been more superficially treated than the SATIRES and EPISTLES. In the Dissertations I have establish'd the true Date of those Pieces, and have shewn their Conformity to History. Nothing sheds greater Light upon the ODES than a Knowledg of the Circumstances in which they were compos'd, and of what the Poet had immediately before his Eyes. I have been often oblig'd to refute the most able Critics, who preceded Me on the same Author, and have endeavor'd, as little as possible to violate that Politeness which shou'd reign especially among Men of Letters. Several Discoverys had I made, which I since found in others. Far from being chagrin'd at this Prevention, I was charm'd with having jump'd into the same Sentiments; I have seldom fail'd to give them the Honor of 'em, and have regarded their Authority as an illustrious Suffrage which establish'd the Truth of my Conjectures. In the Passages of my Poet where any Difficulty occurs, I shall never be reproach'd with having sought to avoid it. The more considerable it appear'd, the greater Application I us'd to surmount it. It will be judg'd perhaps that I might have taken a more prudent Course in those Places; but I can safely affirm, that if I have not succeeded, it has been to Want of Lights more owing than to Want of Courage.

As to the moral Allegory of fabulous Storys, upon which our Commentators are so fondly voluminous, I judg'd it absurd to meddle with it for Reasons I have offer'd in their proper Place. These Allegorys are ingenious, but they are arbitrary, and ev'ry Man may pronounce thereon the Dictates of his own Imagination. I look'd upon it as useless for the Intelligence of HORACE, and thought I cou'd employ my Time to much better Purpose.

Terms of Grammar have I sometimes us'd which chime not with the Jargon of Colleges, because I cou'd

not subject myself to a Language I do not understand. Herein I have fully explain'd myself in a Work I had Occasion to compose upon these Matters.

P. Folard a Jesuit distinguish'd in the Republic of Letters, propos'd to Me a Conjecture upon the four first Verses of the ART OF POETRY, which I think myself oblig'd to impart to the Public. Persuaded he is, that in the last Verse *HORACE* had in View the Description of the Syren in *Homer*, and that the *latin* Poet intended a gentle Stroke to the *greek* One. He takes *ut* of the third Verse for *velut, sicut*, he changes *desinat* into *definit*, and suspects that *desinat* has proceeded from some ignorant Transcriber, who imagin'd that *ut* signify'd here *so that*, and govern'd the Subjunctive. Tho' I cou'd not at the Time of my Edition make mention of this Conjecture, and tho' I follow'd another which to Me appear'd no less probable, yet I am glad upon the Authority of so judicious a Critic to justify the Perplexity I found in these four Verses, and the Liberty I took of rectifying the Text.

Careful as I've been to omit Nothing that cou'd contribute to give my Work all the Perfection I am capable of, I do not flatter myself that nothing has escap'd Me, and I doubt not but still there may be something to do after me. I wish, with great Sincerity I wish, that my feeble Efforts may animate some of our learn'd Men to supply what I have fail'd in. Without Chagrin will I see myself refuted, and with Chearfulness applaud my Defeat, provided it turns to the Good of the Author on whom I have bestow'd my Labor. I finish my Preface in the same Terms and the same Sentiments in which *Menage* finish'd that which he prefix'd to his Observations on *Diogenes Laertius*. *Si nonnulla ab aliis animadversa animadvertimus; vel erant illa omnibus pervia, vel paucis cognita. Omnibus pervia, nullius esse, quia omnium erant, existimavimus. Ad illa paucis cognita quod adinet, eorum auctores ubique laudavimus. Et si forte alicubi non laudavimus, hoc mihi adfirmanti credas velim, ea nos ab aliis non accepisse, sed in ea cum illis fortuito incidisse. Difficile est, imò haud possibile, trita ab aliis viâ sic ingredi, ut in eorum vestigia numquam incurras.* THE

THE LIFE OF
H O R A C E
 PLAN'D ON HIS WORKS
 And digested by Y E A R S.

By P. S A N A D O N.

WE have an ancient Life of Horace, generally attributed to Suetonius: the Scholia which pass under Porphyrio's Name inform Us that this Historian wrote One, and persuaded by a Conformity of Style Mr. Dacier pretends the One We have cou'd not be the Work of another Author. His Right to believe this I don't contest, though all the Critics are not of his Opinion. Certain however it is that this Life is ancient, and I shall readily make Use of it's Authority when I do not see Reason to depart from it. What I propose, is to collect in the very Works of our Poet all the Particulars of his Life that he has acquainted Us with; and to range them annually in the Order they happen'd. This is the most sure and methodic Way in my Opinion. I shall also in the same Order insert the most memorable Occurrences of his Times, and of which he has made any Mention; and shall subjoin the Pieces which sprung from his Pen ev'ry Year. Hence the Pleasure of seeing what he had under his Eyes whilst he compos'd, and the Works he produc'd on this Occasion. Of the two most authoris'd Chronologys which are those of Varro and of Verrius Flaccus, I have pitch'd upon the former, which was follow'd by Cicero, Velleius, Josephus, Pliny, Quintilian, Tacitus, Aulus Gellius, Plutarch, Censorinus, and a great Number of other learned Men.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

according to Varro.

689.

65.

1.

}	L. Aurelius Cotta. II.
	L. Manlius Torquatus. II.

Horace is born Dec. 8. at Venusia a City of Apulia Daunia, tow' rds the Frontiers of Lucania. This City is now in the Basilicat. His Family had been in Slavery, from which his Father was set free. This He himself declares in more than a single Passage of his Works, when he says *Ego pauperum sanguis parentum, libertino patre natus*: for *libertinus* and *libertus* were then taken in the same Sense to signify a Man drawn out of Bondage, as I have remark'd elsewhere. One of the late Commentators * on Horace has been pleas'd to find out for him a most illustrious Descent in Asia. He gives him for a Father one Flavius Flaccus, who was, says he, of one of the first Houses of Pontus. He adds, that this Flavius had been an Officer of Distinction in Mithridates's Army; that he was taken in a Battel; that his Birth and Rank sav'd his Life; that he was afterwards carry'd to Rome and sold to a Quæstor of Venusia, who gave him his Liberty, and marry'd his only Daughter to him by whom he had our Horace. If from this Commentator You demand the Proof of so rare a Discovery, he produces no other but the Ode *O Navis referent*, where he pretends that Flavius Flaccus figuratively calls his Son *Pontica pinus sylvæ filia nobilis*. In my Remarks on that Ode I have shewn the true Sense of the Allegory couch'd in it: thus the

* *Patrem habuit Horatius Flavium Flaccum ex generosâ in Ponto stirpe oriundum. Is Flavius in Mitridatis exercitu honestis stipendiis militabat; quo tempore rex Mitridates cum omnibus copiis fusus fugatusque est à L. Lucullo apud Cabira civitatem an. U. C. 681, captusque est cum plerisque dignitate conspicuis (quippe quibus solis parcendum prædixerat Lucullus, quum reliquos mactari captivos juberet) & Romam aliquanto post perductus, à quæstore Venusino inter servitiaemptus est. Verùm quum quæstor ex eleganti cultu egregiâque servi sui institutione suspicatus esset magno eundem apud suos esse genere, idque tandem verum esse comperisset, liberum eundem esse jussit, ipsique paulo post filiam quam habebat unicam elocavit, &c.* John du Hamel.

Foundation of this new System cannot be in any Manner supported. Cou'd Horace himself be ignorant of so many Particularitys which it was so important for him to know ; and if he did know 'em, is it credible that he wou'd not mention them in any Part of his Works, and that he wou'd never make an Advantage of the Nobility of his Ancestors, to establish himself the better in the good Graces of Mæcenæ and Augustus, and to answer the Reproaches his Maligners frequently made him on the Baseness of his Extraction ? I leave it to the Learned to examin what Credit shou'd be given to a Writer, who with an Air of Gravity gives Us such Imaginations for Truths ; and I abide by Horace's own Testimony, who speaks to Us in so many Places of his Father's Slavery and his own humble Birth, and who never affected to give himself a Varnish of Nobility to which he had no Right. Of other Titles besides his Works he had no Need, and he was persuaded that there is no real Meanness but that of Actions.

The Poet has taken Care to tell Us the Year when he came into the World. He says in his Odes ;

O nata mecum consule Manlio.

Tu vina Torquato move

Consule pressa meo.

The same Commentator, I just now mentioned, assures Us Horace was born in the End of September, and proves it by these Verses of the Ode *Cur me querelis* :

Seu libra, seu me scorpius adspicit

Formidolosus, pars violentior

Natalis horæ, seu tyrannus

Hesperia capricornus undæ.

For my Part I see not any Thing in this Strophe that more designs the Month of September which they attributed to the Balance, than the Months which appertain'd to the two other Constellations. The ancient Life of Horace dates his Birth Dec. 8, and this Testimony not contested in this Point ought doubtless to prevail over a Conjecture frivolous and without Foundation.

We are ignorant of the true Name of the Father of our Poet. 'Tis highly probable that he purchas'd a

small Farm in the Confines of Venusia, the Revenue whereof enabled him to live comfortably and with Credit.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

690.

64.

1. 2.

{ L. Julius Cæsar, Brother
of Julia Mother of
M. Antony.

{ C. Marcius Figulus.

Tibullus comes into the World this Year, or the next. See the Notes on the Epistle *Albi nostrorum*.

691.

63.

2. 3.

{ M. Tullius Cicero.

{ C. Antonius Nepos.

Octavian is born at Rome July 12, some say Sept. 23, or the last of October. He was Grand-son to Julia the Sister of Julius Cæsar. When Pliny says L. 7. Sect. 46, *repulsa in magisterio equitum apud avunculum*, that does not mean that Julius Cæsar was Octavian's next Uncle. He uses the Word *avunculus* in a more extensive Sense, to signify Grand-uncle by the Mother. Velleius speaking of Cæsar, L. 1. c. 59, says, *C. Octavianum nepotem sororis suæ Julię testamento adoptavit*. He adds that Cæsar was Octavian's great Uncle, *C. Cæsar major ejus avunculus*. In short, a little after he calls Cæsar simply *avunculus Octaviani*, in the same Sense with Pliny.

Orbilius Pupillus Native of Beneventum comes to Rome at the Age of fifty to teach the polite Letters.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

692.

62.

3. 4.

{ D. Junius Silanus.

{ L. Licinius Murena.

{ Calpurnius Piso.

693.

61.

4. 5.

{ M. Valerius Messala
Niger.

{ Quintus Cecilius Metel-
lus Celer.

694.

60.

5. 6.

{ L. Afranius.

Alliance of Cæsar, Crassus and Pompey. At this Year began the History of the civil Wars compos'd by Pollio.

YEARS.

Life of HORACE.

xxxv

YEARS. CONSULS.
Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

695.	59.	6. 7.	{ C. Julius Cæſar. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
696.	58.	7. 8.	

About this Time Horace's Father ſells his Venuſian Farm, comes to Rome with his Son, puts him into a Claſs under Orbilius Pupillus, and purchas'd a Clerkſhip in the Treafury. Our Poet ſpoke of his Childhood ſpent in Apulia, when he ſaid :

*Me fabuloſæ Vulture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque ſomno,
Frondæ novâ puerum palumbæ
Texere, (mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicumque celſæ nidum Acherontia,
Saltuſque Bantinos, & arvum
Pingæ tenent humilis Forenti.)*

He ſpeaks elſewhere of Orbilius and his Father's Im-
ployment in theſe Terms.

*Non equidem inſector, delendæ carmina Læſæ
Eſſe reor, memini quæ plaguſum mihi parvo
Orbiliuſ dictare.
Nec timuit, ſibi ne vitio quiſ verteret, olim
Si præco parvas, aut, ut fuit ipſe, coactor
Mercedes ſequeretur.*

Horace receiv'd at Rome an Education above his Birth. His Father ſpar'd no Coſt to form his Mind and his Heart, he himſelf conducted him to the public Schools, and kept him in as genteel a Manner as Perſons of the greateſt Quality did their Children.

*Sed puerum eſt auſus Romam portare, docendum
Artes, quas doceat quiſvis eques atque ſenator
Semet prognatus. Veſtem ſervosque ſequentes,
Ut magno in populo, ſi quiſ vidiffet, arvitâ
Ex re præberi ſuntus mihi crederet illos.
Ipſe mihi cuſtos incorruptiſſimus omnes
Circuû doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum
(Qui primus virtutis bonos) ſervavit ab omni
Non ſolum factò, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.*

C. Licinius Calvus, an excellent Poet and Orator dy'd this Year, at the Age of thirty.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

697.	57.	8. 9.	{ P. Lentulus Spinther.
			{ Q. Metellus.

Propertius is born at Bevagna in Umbria, near a small Lake call'd Abisso. Joseph Scaliger has committed several Mistakes with Respect to the Birth-place of this Poet.

698.	56.	9. 10.	{ Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
			{ L. Marcius Philippus.

699.	55.	10. 11.	{ Cn. Pompeius. II.
			{ M. Crassus. II.

700.	54.	11. 12.	{ Appius Pulcher.
			{ L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Crassus sets out on the Parthian Expedition.

701.	53.	12. 13.	{ Cn. Domitius Calvus or
			{ Calvinus.
			{ M. Valerius Messala.

Rome was seven or eight Months without Consuls, on Account of Factions. The Defeat of Crassus by Orodes King of the Parthians. This Defeat happen'd just as Crassus had pass'd the Euphrates and was on his March to Seleucia. Caius Cassius Longinus, then one of Crassus's Lieutenants, and afterwards one of the Murderers of Cæsar, sav'd the broken Remains of the Roman Army and afterwards drove the Parthians out of Syria. Orodes jealous of the Glory which Moneses, Surenas of the Parthians, had acquir'd by his Victory over Crassus, caus'd him to be put to Death. Pacorus the King's eldest Son was afterwards, tho' but a Child, General of the Parthian Army commanded by Osaces, and march'd to ravage Syria.

702.	52.	13. 14.	{ Cn. Pompeius. III. alone.
			{ Q. Metellus Pius Scipio,
			{ the last five Months.

703.	51.	14. 15.	{ M. Marcellus.
			{ Servius Sulpitius Rufus
			{ Lemonia.

YEARS.

Life of HORACE. xxxvii

YEARS. CONSULS.
Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of. Hor.

704.	50.	15. 16.	L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Marcellus, Cousin- german of M. Mar- cellus.
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705.	49.	16. 17.	C. Claudius Marcellus, Brother of M. Mar- cellus. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
------	-----	---------	---

The civil War breaks out between Cæsar and Pompey. Cæsar is made Dictator. 'Tis probable that Horace took the manly Gown at the Beginning of this Year. Cicero's Son, who was of the same Age, was invested with it at the Beginning of April. They did not assume it in those Days till the End of the fifteenth Year. Under the Emperors this Æra was advanc'd one Year earlier.

706.	48.	17. 18.	C. Cæsar. II. P. Servilius Vatia Isau- ricus.
------	-----	---------	---

The Battel of Pharsalia. The Death of Pompey, being fifty eight Years old. Sextus Pompey his Son retires into Spain. Labienus goes off to the Parthians.

707.	47.	18. 19.	Q. Fufius Calenus. P. Vatinius.
------	-----	---------	------------------------------------

Cæsar is made Dictator a second Time, and nam'd Consul for ten Years. Ptolemy Dionysius King of Ægypt is drown'd in the Nile, and Cleopatra his Sister obtains the Kingdom by the Favor of Cæsar. Catullus did not dye till after this Year, as appears by one of his Epigrams, where he speaks of Vatinius's Ingagement.

708.	46.	19. 20.	C. Cæsar. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
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Cæsar is declar'd Dictator for the third Time. Cato kills himself at Utica.

709.	45.	20. 21.	C. Cæsar. IV. honorary Consul. Q. Fabius Maximus. Trebonius Asper.
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Fabius

xixviii Life of HORACE.

Fabius having dy'd on the last Day of his Consulat,
 C. Caninius was created Consul for the Remainder of
 the Day. Caesar reforms the Calendar. Cicero's Son
 sets out from Rome for Athens at the Beginning of
 Spring, and arrives there early in April. 'Tis probable
 Horace made this Tour at the same Time. 'Tis cer-
 tain they both study'd Philosophy at Athens together
 with young Messala, Varus, Bibulus, Acidimus, &c.
 and that Horace was actually there before the civil
 War that Broke out after Caesar's Death.

YEARS.
CONSULS.
Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

710.	44.	21. 22.	{	J. Caesar. V. M. Antony. Dolabella, in the Room of Caesar.
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Julius Caesar is declar'd Dictator for the fifth and
 last Time. He rebuilds Corinth and sends a Colony
 thither, he begins also to repare the Ruins of Car-
 thage. He is stab'd in full Senat on the fifteenth of
 March. Among his Murderers were Cassius, the two
 Brutus's, Trebonius, Minutius, Basilus, and several
 others. Octavian was then at Apollonia a City of
 Epirus, with Mæcenas. Caesar had sent him there
 five or six Months before in the Quality of Colonel
 of Horse, and was to call on him in his Way to the
 Parthian War. He put to Sea on the News of Caesar's
 Death, landed at Lupia, now Rocca, went to Brun-
 dusium, assum'd the Name of Caesar, came to Rome,
 asserted his Right to the Suecession of his Grand-
 uncle's Estate who had adopted him, and clam'd the
 Possession of it. Some pretend that he did not use
 this Name constantly and universally 'till after 711,
 when his Adoption was acknowledg'd and ratify'd by
 the Senat. Agrippa and Rufus Salvidienus, who had
 been attach'd to the Dictator, offer'd their Service to
 Octavian, while he was yet at Apollonia. Marcus
 Lepidus is created sovereign Pontif in Caesar's Place.
 Messala returns from Athens in the Month of June,
 and joins Brutus. The latter goes to Athens with
 Cassius,

Life of HORACE. xxxix

Cassius in the Month of August. Varus, young Pompey, Cicero's Son, Horace and several young Noblemen, who were then following their Studys in this City, ingage in the Party of these two Chiefs. Octavian at first expected to find in Antony a Friend and Assistant, but perceiving he hearken'd but little to him, and treated him with contempt, he went over to the Party of the Nobility, to whom Antony was odious, especially for besieging Decimus Brutus in the Town of Modena. Commission'd by the Senate, he rais'd an Army against Antony in the Month of October. The two Consuls chosen for the insuing Year join'd him.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bes. J. C. of Hor. { C. Vibius Pansa.
711. 43 22, 23. { A. Hirtius.

Octavian forces Antony to raise the Siege of Modena. The two Consuls are slain in the Engagement, Octavian and Quintus Pedius are nam'd to succeed them: the former resigns a little after, and his Place was given to Ventidius. A Triumvirat form'd for five Years between Octavian, Antony and Lepidus, Nov. 27. near Modena, in an Island of the River Lavino. One of the Conventions was that Octavian should have the two Africs, with Sicily and Sardinia; Lepidus all Spain with the Narbonese Gaul; and Antony the other two Gauls. Cicero and Messala were of the Number of the Proscrib'd, and the former, being sixty four Years old, was kill'd the seventh of December, together with his Brother Quintus and his Nephew. M. Brutus goes to Macedonia, carrys Horace along with him, and makes him Colonel of a Legion. This Distinction drew on our Poet the Envy of his Adversarys, as he tells us in these Verses:

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum;

Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,

Nunc, quia sum tibi, Mæcenæ, convictor; at olim

Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

Antony passes the Alps, to bring over to his Party Lepidus, Plancus and Asinius Pollio. Ovid comes into the World Mar. 20.

Octavian

Octavian assum'd the Title of Imperator this Year for the first Time.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rom. Bes. J.C. Of Hor. } M. Æmilius Lepidus.
712. 42. 23. 24. } L. Munatius Plancus.

The Parthians ravage Syria. L. Ælius Lamia is made Prætor. Cassius takes Rhodes, and Brutus makes himself Master of Lycia. Dispute between Rupilius Rex and Perſius in Preſence of Brutus. On this Occaſion Horace writes the Satire *Proſcripti Regis Rupili*. This is the firſt Piece of his Writing We have any Knowledge of; and it accordingly has more the Air of the young Cavalier than of a Poet already form'd. The Negligences in this Piece, and the very Quality of the Subject, which cou'd not but be diſpleaſing to the Emperor and Mæcenas, perſuade me to believe that Horace took ſpecial Care not to publiſh it, and that his Friends did not ſuffer it to leave their Cabinets 'till after the Year 767 in which Auguſtus dy'd.

The Battle of Philippi in Theſſaly, about the End of Autumn. Brutus and Caſſius periſh there, and Horace runs away after the ſecond Battle, as he himſelf frankly avows in one of his Odes, where he tells Us he had been engag'd before in ſeveral perilous Actions.

*O ſæpè mecum tempus in ultimum
Deduçte, Bruto militiæ duce, &c.
Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relictâ non bene parmula.*

Brutus was but thirty ſeven Years old. Cato's Son was ſlain in the Battle, as alſo Lucullus and Hortenſius. Antony cauſes Varro to be put to Death. Corvinus Meſſala ſurrenders to Octavian. Druſus Livius Livia's Father kills himſelf, and Varus receives Death from the Hand of his Freedman. After the Battle an Amneſty was publiſh'd for all thoſe who wou'd ſurrender to the Conquerors. Horace imbrac'd this Occaſion to quit a military Life, that Nature had not deſign'd him for.

At the ſame Time that Octavian routed the Army of Caſſius and Brutus, his Fleet, which was transporting two Legions to him under the Command of Domitius

Life of HORACE.

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Domitius Calvinus, was defeated in the Ionian Sea by Murcus and Ænobarbus, who afterwards received aboard their Vessels all those who wou'd not imbrace the Amnesty. Having made a Partition of their Troops Antony crosses into Asia and Octavian returns to Italy. The Birth of Claudius Tiberius Nero on the twenty ninth of November. He was afterwards second Emperor of Rome.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

713.	41.	24. 25.	{	L. Antony, Brother of M. Antony.
				P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. II.

Octavian at his Return to Rome repudiates Fulvia's Daughter to marry Scribonia, Sister of Scribonius Libo Father-in-law of Sextus Pompey. Mæcenas negotiated this Marriage. Virgil comes to Rome, and finds Access to this Prince by Mæcenas's Means. Horace escap'd from the Battle of Philippi returns to Italy at the Beginning of this Year. As his Father dy'd in his Absence, he had no Resource but in the Generosity of his Friends, and he endeavour'd to make himself known under the Character of a fine Genius, by producing from Time to Time several Pieces of Poetry, among which we may reckon the following:

Vides ut altâ stet nive candidum

Solvitur acris hyems gratâ vice veris & Favonî.

Quæ virtus & quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo.

The Beginning of the War of Perugia. The Consul Antony threw himself into the City, and the Siege was form'd by three Bodys of Troops under the Conduct of Octavian, Agrippa and Salvidienus.

714.	40.	25. 26.	{	Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
				II.
				C. Asinius Pollio.

From the Year 711 the Triumvirs had nam'd Pollio Consul for 714. The unlook'd for War between Octavian and the Antonys hinder'd him from ent'ring into his Office before September, and then he exercis'd

cis'd it but for a few Days, both Consuls and Prætors being chang'd before the End of the Year. The Death of Caius Claudius Marcellus, who left Octavia big with Child. He had been Consul in 704. Domitius Ænobarbus gain'd by Pollio's Solicitations joins Mark Antony with his Fleet and Troops. Livia Daughter of Drusus Livius Claudianus passes into Sicily with Tiberius Claudius Nero her Husband, and young Tiberius her Son. Labienus a Partisan of Sextus Pompey, assisted by the Parthians, makes an Irruption into Syria. The Parthians were commanded by Pacorus. Perusia is reduc'd by Famin in the middle of March. Four hundred, as well Knights as Senators, were sacrific'd before the Altar of Julius Cæsar. Birth of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Son of Caius Claudius Marcellus and Octavia. Mark Antony returns from Ægypt to Italy after the Month of June. Peace of Brundisium negotiated between Octavian and the Antonys, by the Mediation of Cocceius Friend to both Partys, of Pollio on the Side of the Antonys, and of Mæcenas on the Side of Octavian. It was stipulated in the Articles of this Peace that Octavian shou'd have the Command of Sardinia, Spain, Gaul and Dalmatia; and that all the Countrys east-ward of the Ionian Sea shou'd be Antony's Jurisdiction.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

715.

39.

26. 27.

L. Marcus Censorinus.

C. Calvisius Sabinus.

They begin to multiply constantly the Number of Consuls. However they always mark'd the Year by the Name of those who enter'd first into Office. The rest, who were created in the Course of the Year, were call'd petty Consuls. Scribonia having brought forth Julia, was repudiated the same Day by Octavian, whether her Conduct was not exactly regular, or because Livia's Beauty and Wit had made a greater Impression on his Heart, or because he had no further Services to expect from Scribonius Libo. Peace concluded

cluded early this Year at Misenum with Sextus Pompey. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia are granted him for five Years. This Peace restores to the Republic Nero, Silanus, Saturninus, Aruntius and Titius the Father, who had been proscrib'd. We may fix at this Time the Revolt of Salvidienus, whom Octavian caus'd to be slain. He had commanded a Fleet against Pompey, and was then actually a Commander in Narbonese Gaul. Pompeius Grosphus, who for five Years had carry'd Arms in the Party of Sextus Pompey, took Advantage from the Peace of Misenum to return to Rome. His Friend Horace on this Occasion address'd to him the Ode

O sæpè mecum tempus in ultimum.

Most of the Things we have related of the Life of our Poet are express'd in these Verses of one of his Satires :

*Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratæ Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ ;
Scilicet ut possem curæ dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,
Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et Laris & fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem, &c.*

Oct. 25. Pollio triumph'd ov'r the Parthenians, People of Illyricum. Horace is introduc'd for the first Time to Mæcenas by Varius and Virgil. *Virgilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.*

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

716.

38.

27. 28.

{ Appius Claudius
Pulcher.

{ C. Norbanus Placcus.

Octavian marries Livia. She was the Daughter of Livius Drusus, and Wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, who

who yielded her up to Octavian when she was big with Claudius Drusus Nero, of whom she was deliver'd three Months after. Agrippa gains a signal Victory over the Aquitains, who had revolted. The Peace concluded the precedent Year with Sextus Pompey did not last long. It was this Year violated, and War broke out again. There was an Engagement near Cumæ between Octavian's Fleet commanded by Calvius Sabinus and Sextus Pompey's commanded by Menecrates. Menas, who was in Octavian's Fleet, came to blows with Menecrates and kill'd him.

Horace enters into the good Graces of Mæcenas, who procur'd him Octavian's Favor, and obtain'd a small Estate for him in the Country of the Sabins. On this Occasion the Poet made the Ode *Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mitylenen*, of which we have now but a Fragment. In several Places he has left Us the Description of this Country-house, but particularly in this Passage of one of his Epistles :

*Continui montes, nisi dissociantur opacâ
Valle : sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat sol,
Lævum decedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid ? Si rubicunda benigni
Corna vepres & pruna ferunt ? Si quercus & ilex
Multâ fruge pecus, multâ dominum juvat umbra ?
Dicas adductum propiùs frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus.*

This Estate call'd Ustica was situated on a Hill of the same Name, in the Ridge of Hills call'd Lucretialis, in the Territory of Bandusia. It must have been pretty considerable, since Horace employ'd there ev'ry Year eight Slaves besides a House-keeper ; and it had formerly suffic'd for the Maintenance of five Familys. The Rivulet which flow'd thro' it and which took it's Rise there was call'd Digentia. Amongst other Things it contain'd Orchards, Woods and Meadows. Horace made several Changes in his House at various Times, and at last intirely rebuilt it of a
beautifful

beautiful white Stone brought from Tivoli in his Neighborhood. Flavio Blondi, an Author of the fifteenth Century, places this Estate in the Mountains of Latium, about Præneste. All the Proof he alledges for it is, that there was in his Time in these Mountains a Church of St. John in Horace's Field. Nothing more frivolous than this Proof. This Field might have taken it's Name from another Horace more modern than our Poet. The positive and uniform Testimonys of Horace himself, of the ancient Author of his Life, of the Scholiasts, and of Cluverius, who verif'y'd the Thing upon the Spot, leave no Room for Conjecture.

To this Year we may refer the Composition of the Odes

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mitylenen.

Lupis & agnis quanta sortitè obtigit.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

717.	37.	28. 29.	{ M. Vipfanius Agrippa. L. Caninius Gallus. Statilius Taurus, in the Room of Caninius deceas'd.

Pacorus, eldest Son of Orodes, is kill'd in Syria fighting in Conjunction with Labienus against the Romans commanded by Ventidius Chief of Antony's Troops. Orodes broken with the Pressure of Old-age, and o'erwhelm'd with Grief for the Death of Pacorus, resigns his Royalty to Phraates his second Son.

Horace attends Mæcenæ to Brundisium, who with Cocceius and Capito was to labor there a second Reconciliation between Octavian and Antony. This Journey was perform'd tow'rd's Autumn, and Horace compos'd upon this Subject the Satire

Egressum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ.

Octavian and Antony prolong their sovereign Authority for five Years more. Agrippa is created Admiral and builds a Harbor at Baiz. Messala is made

Vice-

Vice-Admiral under Agrippa. One of the Conditions of the Treaty of Tarentum was, that Octavian shou'd furnish Antony with twenty thousand Men to re-inforce his Army against the Parthians, and that Antony shou'd leave with Octavian a hundred and thirty arm'd Gallies. On the first of July Statilius Taurus sails from Tarentum with this Fleet, Octavian from the Gulf of Puteoli with his own, and Lepidus from Afric with several other Vessels, to make a Descent upon Sicily from three different Quarters. A violent Storm having shatter'd their Ships, they refitted 'em for the sublequent Year. Calvisius, for having let Menas desert unperceiv'd was degraded of his Quality of Commander of a Squadron.

Horace, who was constantly in Mæcenæ's Retinue, was aboard Octavian's Fleet, which was wrack'd in the Gulf of Velia, near Cape Palinurus, where he had like to perish, as he says himself:

Non me Philippis versa acies retro,

Devota non extinxit arbor,

Nec Sicula Palinurus undâ.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

718.

36.

29. 30.

{ L. Gellius Poplicola.
M. Cocceius Nerva.

Octavian having refitted his Fleet crosses into Sicily with Mæcenæ and Agrippa. The latter gave Battle to Democares Pompey's Admiral off of Milazzo. Octavian just on the Point of making himself Master of Taormina was invetted by Pompey, who defeated him, oblig'd him to fly and leave his Land-forces under the Command of Cornificius. Mæcenæ was dispatch'd to Rome, to appease some Motions of Revolt. Agrippa having advanced by Octavian's Order, to sustain Cornificius, stopt Pompey's Career. Mæcenæ being return'd from Rome engag'd in a second Sea-fight off of Cape Pelorus.

Octavian receives divine Honors in the Provinces. *Octavius oppidatim inter Deos tutelares consecratus est,* says Appian in his fifth Book.

Phraates

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Phraates, King of the Parthians renders himself odious to his Subjects by his Cruelties. Several Lords of his Court abandon him. Monefes, Son of the Surenas, flies for Refuge to Antony, who sends him back to Phraates, and was himself soon after beaten by the Parthians.

YEARS,
Of Rome. *Bef. J. C. Of Hor.*

CONSULS.

719.	35.	30.	31.	} L. Cornificius. Sextus Pompey, Son of Sextus Pompey.
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Sextus Pompey flies into Asia, joins the Parthians, endeavors to take off Ænobarbus and corrupt the Troops sent by Octavia to Antony, besieges Cyzicus by Sea and Land, beats the Army of Furnius Governor of the Province, and makes himself Master of Lampfacus, Nicæa and Nicomedia. Titius, by Antony's Order, kills him at Miletus. He was then forty Years of Age. This Titius was the very same whom Pompey had formerly taken Prisoner, and pardon'd. Phraates is expel'd his Kingdom by his Subjects, who put Tiridates in his Place. Octavian is declar'd perpetual Tribune, according to Appian, and refuses this Honor. He prepares for an Expedition into the British Isles. A Revolt of the Pannonians, which drew in the Dalmatians, oblig'd him to quit this Design, and shape his Course to Pannonia where he made War this Year. Horace makes the Satire

Si raro scribes; ut toto non quater anno.

720.	34.	31.	32.	} M. Antony, who resigns the same Day. Sempronius Atratinus. L. Scribonius Libo.
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Octavian after having begun the War against the Dalmatians, leaves it to finish to Statilius Taurus, who was returning victorious from Afric. Antony leads in Triumph into Alexandria Artavasdes King of the Armenians. Statilius Taurus triumphs over Afric the last Day of June. Lepidus has Thoughts of getting all Sicily into his own Hands; Octavian wins over his Soldiers,

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Soldiers, and divests him of his Dignity ; but touch'd with his Misfortunes grants him his Life, and gives him the sovereign Pontificat, which he suffer'd him quietly to enjoy for the Remainder of his Days. Agrippa was *Ædile* this Year. To this Office did he voluntarily stoop, tho' he had been Consul already in 717. Horace writes the Epistle

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

721. 33. 32. 33. { C. Cæsar Octavian. II.
L. Volcatius Tullus.

With the Booty taken from the Dalmatians Octavian builds Porticos, and a Library after his own Name. He resigns the Consulat the very first Day. To this Year we may affix the third Consulat of Antony mark'd on the Medals. Horace makes the Ode

Quo quo, scelesti, ruitis, aut cur dexteris.

722. 32. 33. 34. { Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Sosius.

Octavian and Antony come to an open Rupture. The Consuls and sev'ral Senators declare for Antony, leave Rome, and go over to him. He repudiates Octavia. Plancus and Titius his Nephew quit Antony's Party and go over to Octavian, whose Fleet, as he was attempting to invade the Isle of Corfu, was shatter'd by a Tempest. Antony arrives at Patras, where he spends the Winter. Horace makes the Odes,

O nata mecum consule Manlio,

Pastor quum traheret per freta navibus.

723. 31. 34. 35. { C. Cæsar Octavian. III.
M. Valerius Messala
Corvinus.

Octavian imbars at Brundisium in the Spring, to go and incounter Antony. Mæcenas who attended him wou'd not take Horace along with him. To console him on this Separation, he obtain'd for him from Octavian the Privilege of wearing the equestrian

trian

trian Ring and the Angusticlavium. The Proof of his having receiv'd this Favor is found in the Reproaches of his Servant Davus :

*Tu, quum projectis insignibus, annulo equestri,
Romanoque habitu, prodis ex judice Dama
Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacernâ ;
Non es quod simulas ?*

Plutarch gives to Octavian two hundred and fifty Ships, and to Antony five hundred. The former had for general Officers Messala his Colleague, Agrippa, Mæcenas, Statilius Taurus, Larius, Aruntius, &c. On Antony's Side among others were Poplicola and Sosius. The Battel was fought the second of September in the Gulf of Ambracia, and the Victory fell to Octavian. Antony and Cleopatra fled at the very Beginning of the Battel tow'rds Ægypt. Mæcenas persued 'em with a Squadron of Liburnian Vessels, but cou'd not overtake them. When they were upon the Point of ingaging, Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus went over to Octavian, who, in Consideration of Agrippa, pardon'd his Fault. Sosius also regain'd his Favor by the Mediation of Aruntius. As Tibullus was the constant Companion of all Messala's forein Expeditions, he serv'd in this Action. Pollio refus'd to appear there. 'Tis probable he finish'd at this Year the History of his civil Wars, which had lasted the Space of thirty Years. Varus causes Cassius of Parma to be slain at Athens, whither he had fled for Refuge after Antony's Defeat. Dionysius of Halicarnassus comes to Rome.

Horace makes the Pieces,

*Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila cælo.
Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium.
Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas.
Quando repostum Cæcubum ad festas dapes.
Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum.
Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus,
Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopœ.*

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YEARS.
Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

CONSULS.

724.

30.

35. 36.

C. Cæsar Octavian. IV.
M. Licinius Crassus,
and in his Place Cice-
ro's Son.

Octavian leaves the Care of Rome and Italy to Mæcenas and Agrippa, and sails to Ægypt. He surprises Pelusium, defeats Antony's Army, makes himself Master of his Fleet and takes Alexandria. Antony kills himself on the first of August, and Cleopatra puts an End to her Life on the twenty ninth. All Ægypt submits to the Victor, who reduces it into a Province, and gives the Government of it to Cornelius Gallus. In the Letter written by Octavian to the Senat, to impart his Success to them, he nam'd Cicero's Son Consul in the Room of Crassus. The Senat approv'd his Choice. Octavian passes into Syria. Phraates now restor'd to his Kingdom by the Means of the Scythians sends Ambassadors to him, and Tiridates who was expel'd comes to implore his Succor bringing him Phraates's Son. From Syria Octavian passes into the Province of Asia. Crassus defeats the Dacæ, the Bastarnæ and the Myrians early in the Winter.

Horace makes the Ode

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero.

725.

29.

36. 37.

C. Cæsar Octavian. V.
S. Apuleius Nepos, suc-
ceeded by Valerius
Potitus.

The Senat makes a Decree to order the Shutting of the Temple of Janus. Octavian passes the Winter in the Province of Asia, and at Samos enters upon his fifth Consulat. Messala succeeds Quintus Didius in the Government of Syria. Statilius Taurus gains a Victory over the Dalmatians. Crassus again defeats the People who dwelt on the Banks of the Danube. The Temple of Janus is shut for the first Time by Octavian, who triumphs in the Month of August

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August during three consecutive Days, on the first for the Defeat of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, on the second for the Victory at Actium, on the third for the Reduction of Egypt. He entertains Thoughts of resigning the Government of the Empire, Mæcenus dissuades him from it. He begins to make a Lustrum of the Roman People, and the Senat decrees him divine Honors.

Horace composes the Pieces following:

Motum ex Metello consule civicum.

Scribis Vario fortis & hostium.

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui.

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

726.

28.

37. 38.

{ C. Cæsar Octavian. VI.
M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
II.

Octavian closes the Lustrum, is stil'd Prince of the Senat, and consecrates the Temple and Library of Apollo Palatinus. The Actian Games are celebrated for the first Time. Tow'rd the End of the Year Messala returns from Syria, and is sent Governor into-Aquitania. Tibullus was in his Retinue.

Horace produc'd the following Pieces:

Delicta majorum immeritus lues.

O navis, referent in mare te novi.

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem.

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli.

727.

27.

38. 39.

{ C. Cæsar Octavian.
VII.
M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
III.

In the Beginning of January Octavian in full Senat declares his Resolution of resigning to them the Government of the Republic; but his Proposal is unanimously rejected. On the seventh of the same Month he is nam'd Prince for ten Years, and invested in this Quality with the general Government of the Roman Empire. On the thirteenth, he divides the Provinces

D 2

with

with the Senat, and on the seventeenth by the Advice of Munatius Plancus they give him the Surname of Augustus. The Night following there happen'd a prodigious Inundation of the Tiber, and this Accident was accompany'd with Snow, Hail and Thunder. Augustus falls sick in the Month of May. The Month following, he opens the Temple of Janus, and departs from Rome with his Troops to carry War into the British Isles; but Ambassadors from the Islanders meet him at Rimini, where he imposes the Conditions of Peace. Sextus Apuleius makes War on the Cantabrians, and Messala on the Gauls of Aquitania, over whom he triumphs on the twenty-fifth of September which was his Birth-day. A Project is set on Foot at Rome for sending an Army against the Arabians. Ælius Gallus is constituted Governor of Ægypt in the Room of Cornelius Gallus, who was exil'd upon an Information of Valerius Largus, for having spoke ill of Augustus. This Prince having regulated the Affairs of Gaul, where he establish'd Roman Colonys at Bésiers, Arles, Fréjus and Orange, passes over to Spain at the End of this Year to do as much there. Here he stays three Years.

Horace wrote the Pieces,

Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ.

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium.

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides.

Nempe incompósito dixi pede currere versus.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

728.	26.	39.	40.	} C. Cæsar Augustus. VIII. T. Statilius Taurus. II.

Sextus Apuleius triumphs over Spain the twenty-sixth of January. The Cantabrians and Asturians take up Arms again tow'rd's the End of this Year. Horace writes the Epistle,

Ne perconteris fundus meus, optime Quinti.

YEARS:

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YEARS.			CONSULS.
<i>Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.</i>			
729.	25.	40. 41.	} C. Cæsar Augustus. IX. M. Junius Silanus.

Agrippa finishes the Pantheon and the Portico of Neptune or the Argonauts. Ælius Gallus and Petronius begin their Expeditions, the former against the Arabians and the latter against the Æthiopians. Marcellus espouses Julia. At Tarragon Augustus receives an Embassy from the Scythians and Indians. Tiridates flies to him for Refuge, not thinking himself secure enough in Syria. After the Death of King Amyntas, Galatia, Lycaonia, Isauria and Pisidia become a Roman Province. M. Lollius Pro prætor was the first Governor of it. Terentius Varro Murena defeats the Salassians. Augustus marches at the Head of his Troops against the Cantabrians and Asturians, and reduces them. Marcellus, Tiberius and young Lollius made their first Campaign in this Expedition. At the End of the Year Augustus falls dangerously ill, and does not recover 'till the following June.

Horace publishes the Pieces :

Non usitatâ nec tenui ferar.

Quantum distet ab Inacho.

730.	24	41. 42.	} C. Cæsar Augustus. X. C. Norbanus Flaccus.
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The Death of Terentius Varro Murena design'd Consul for the ensuing Year. The End of the Expedition of Gallus and Petronius. Augustus returns from Spain to Rome after the Month of June, and shuts the Temple of Janus for the second Time. Tiridates returns with him. The Death of Quintilius, Virgil's and Horace's Friend. The Cantabrians, after Augustus's Departure, having surpris'd the Romans and committed some Hostilities, Lucius Æmilius Governor of Spain brought them immediately to Reason and reduc'd the Rebels to their Duty. All this happen'd before Augustus's Arrival at Rome.

Horace makes the Pieces

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus.

Et thure & fidibus juvat.

Herculis ritu modo dictus, ò plebs.

Nil admirari propè, res est una, Numici.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

731.

23.

42. 43.

{ C. Cæsar Augustus. XI.
who puts in his stead
L. Sestius Nepos.
C. Calpurnius Piso.

Phraates sends Ambassadors to the Romans, to desire them to send him his Son and Tiridates, and promises on his Side to restore the Roman Eagles. The Senat refers this Affair to Augustus, who splits the Diff'rence, sends back Phraates and keeps Tiridates, giving him Leave to live in Rome. Sickness and Recovery of Augustus in the Month of August. He imparts to the Senat his Will, in which he nam'd Marcellus his Successor. This Preference excites Jealousy in Agrippa and Tiberius. To prevent the Consequences of it Augustus determines to remove them out of the Way for some Time. The former was sent to command in Syria, but stay'd at Lesbos, and charg'd his Lieutenants with the Command of his Troops. Tiberius had Orders to go visit and settle the Eastern Provinces. The Death of Marcellus. Horace makes Use of the cold Bath. Augustus offers him the honorable Employ of Secretary of the Cabinet, which he had the Address to refuse without offending the Prince. A fresh Insurrection of the Cantabrians and Asturians. They are defeated by Caius Furnius and Publius Carisius. This Revolt began and ended almost at the same Time. Augustus is invested with the Tribunitian Pow'r for Life, which he had refus'd to accept in 719.

Horace

Horace compos'd the Pieces following :

Musis amicus, tristitiam & metus.

Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ vel acri.

Quæ sit hyems Velia, quod cælum, Vala, Salerni.

Septimius, Claudii, nimirum intelligit unus.

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

732.

22.

43. 44.

{ M. Claudius Marcellus
Efernius.
L. Aruntius Nepos.

The Conspiracy of Licinius Varro Murena and Fan-
nius Cœpio. The People of Armenia Major discon-
tented with their King Artabazus redemand Tigranes,
who was at Rome. The Opening of the Temple of
Janus for the second Time. Augustus crosses into Si-
cily towards the End of the Year, in the Design of
Sailing from thence east-ward and recov'ring from
Phraates King of the Parthians the Standards and Pri-
soners of the Republic. War against the Getæ and
other Inhabitants on the Danube. Sore Famin and
Pestilence in Italy.

Horace produces the Pieces

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus.

Te maris & terræ numeroque carentis arenæ.

Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni.

733.

21.

44. 45.

{ M. Lollius.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Augustus being still in Sicily refus'd the Consulat,
which was at last confer'd on Lepidus. There were
on this Occasion violent Factions form'd for Lepidus
and Silanus. The Presence of the Prince was judg'd
necessary to dissipate those Troubles, the Consequences
of which were dreaded : but he constantly persisted in
his Design of going to Asia to revenge the Defeat of
Crassus and Antony. The two Competitors of the
Consulat repair to him in Sicily. He reprimands
'em, and forbids 'em to appear in Rome at the Elec-
tion. He sends Agrippa to Rome to govern it in his
Absence, and gives him in Marriage his Daughter Ju-
lia,

lia, Widow of Marcellus, making him repudiate the elder Marcella, his Sister Octavia's Daughter. The last Expedition of Petronius against Candace Queen of Æthiopia. Augustus sails from Sicily to Greece, and from thence to the Isle of Samos, where he remain'd all the Winter. Lucius Sempronius Atratinus triumphs over Afric the twelfth of October. About the End of the Year Agrippa is oblig'd to quit Rome, and take on him the Government of the Gauls, who being harass'd by the Germans menac'd an Insurrection.

Horace compos'd the following Pieces :

Iustum ac tenacem propositi virum.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi.

Impios parvæ recinentis omen.

Sunt quibus in satirâ videor nimis acer, & ultra.

Julii Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef J. C. Of Hor.

734.

20.

45. 46.

{ M. Apuleius.

{ P. Silius Nerva.

Tiberius waits on Augustus at Samos early in the Year, and departs at the Beginning of Spring for Armenia. Augustus receives a second Embassy from the Indians, he grants to Queen Candace's Ambassadors an Immunity from the Imposts the Republic had layd upon the People of Æthiopia, he departs in Spring for Asia and Bithynia, and passes afterwards into Syria. Rufus Egnatius conspires against him. His Conspiracy was discover'd and extinguish'd almost at the same Time. Birth of Caius Son of Agrippa and Julia. The Parthians resolve to support Artaxias King of Armenia, and Successor of Artabazus. Tiberius appeases these Commotions and reinstates Tigranes on the Throne of Armenia. Towards Summer Phraates submits to Augustus, restores the Standards and Prisoners, which he had retain'd since the Defeat of Crassus and of Antony, pulls down the Trophys the Parthians had erected for those two Victories, and gives him as Hostages four of his legitimate Sons, one of whom was Vonones afterwards King of Parthia. Augustus gives to Jamblicus

blicus the Principality of Arabia, to Tarcondimotus that of Cilicia, to Archelaus that of Armenia the less, to Herod the Tetrarchy of Zenodore, and Comagene to Mithridates. Agrippa quits the Government of the Gauls and passes into Spain, where he so intirely reduc'd the Cantabrians, who had again revolted, that he put it out of their Power to give any new Disturbance. About the End of the Year Augustus returns to Samos, where he again spends the Winter.

Horace makes the following Pieces :

Ille & nefasto te posuit die.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos.

Celso gaudere & bene rem gerere Albinovano.

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli.

Si potes Archiacis convivæ recumbere lectis.

Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis, quos colligis, Icci.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

735.

19.

46. 47.

{ C. Sentius Saturninus.
Q. Lucretius Cinna Ve-
spillo.
M. Vinicius.

The Indians wait upon Augustus at Samos, and obtain the Peace they had sued for the precedent Year by their Ambassadors. Marcus Vinicius is substituted in the Stead of one of the two Consuls. Agrippa after having refus'd a Triumph, undertakes the War of Pannonia, which lasted several Years. Virgil's Voyage into Greece and his Return. He dyes in his fifty-second Year, the twenty-second of September. Death of Tibullus in the forty-fourth or forty-fifth Year of his Age. Augustus returns to Rome, the twelfth of October. Next Day the Senat, to prevent such Factions for the Consulat as had been form'd in his Absence, make him Inspector of the public Manners for five Years, and invest him with the consular Authority for Life, together with the Power of making such Laws as he shou'd judg proper.

Horace makes the Pieces

Martiis caelebs quid agam calendis.

Sic te Diwa potens Cypri.

Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem.

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique

Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos.

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

636. 18. 47. 48. }

The Julian Law for Marriages enacted by Augustus. Tiberius gets the Government of Gallia comata. Tow'rds the End of the Year, Augustus causes the Title and Authority of Prince, which were to expire the seventh of the next January, to be continu'd to him five Years longer. He confers for the same Time the Office of Tribune on Agrippa.

737. 17. 48. 49. { C. Farnius.
C. Junius Silanus.

Augustus re-establishes and celebrates the secular Games, and pitches upon Horace to make the Hymns to be sung on that grand Festival. He adopts Caius and Lucius the two Sons of Agrippa and Julia. Lucius was just born, and Caius but three Years old.

Horace publishes the Odes

Poſcimus. Si quid vacui ſub umbrâ.

Odi profanum vulgus, & arceo.

738. 16. 49. 50. { L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Cornelius Scipio.

Early in the Year Lollius the Father ſets out for Thrace to ſuccor Rimetalces Uncle and Gardian of Cotys's Children, and having defeated the Beſſi, leads his Army inſtantly into Germany. The Sicambrians beat him and he beats them in his Turn, or rather obliges 'em to retreat, and to accept ſuch Conditions of Peace as he was pleas'd to impoſe. Departure of Auguſtus for Gaul upon the News of Lollius's Diſadvantage. Agrippa is ſent into Syria, and Tiberius follows

Augustus.

Life of HORACE.

lix

Augustus. Taurus is intrusted with the Government of Rome and Italy.

Horace composes the Ode

O formosus adhuc & Veneris muneribus potens.

YEARS,

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

739.

15.

50. 51.

{ M. Livius Drusus Libo.
L. Calpurnius Piso.

Defeat of the Rætians and Vindelicians by Tiberius and Drusus, in August. Drusus was alone in the first Action. Tiberius was sent to second him. Augustus spends the whole Year in Gaul. Death of Propertius at the Age of forty-one. His Tomb was found in 1722, at Spello a Town of Umbria, six Miles from Bevagna his Birth-place, under the Ruins of a House, which to this Day retains the Name of the Poet's House.

740.

14.

51. 52.

{ M. Licinius Crassus.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

War against the Pannonians, the Ligurians and the Bosphorans. Augustus in his Absence from Rome regulates the Affairs of Gaul, Germany and Rætia, and sends several Colonys into Gaul and Spain.

Horace produces the Ode

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari.

741.

13.

52. 53.

{ Tiberius Claudius Nero.
P. Quintilius Varus.

Agrippa at his Return from Syria is continu'd Tribune for five Years, and about the End of this marches against the Pannonians, who had taken up Arms again. Augustus returns from Gaul to Rome before the Month of March, after an Absence of two Years and a half. The same Month he takes the High-Priesthood in the Room of Lepidus deceas'd. Drusus remains in Germany.

Horace makes the Pieces following :

Divis orte bonis optime Romulæ.

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem.

Quæ cura Patrum, quæve Quiritium.

YEARS. CONSULS.
Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

742. 12. 53. 54. } M. Valerius Messala
Barbatus.
P. Sulpicius Quirinus.

Augustus is continu'd Prince for five Years. Agrippa at his Return from his Pannonian Expedition dyes in Campania about the twentyth of March, aged 51. Tiberius terminates the War of Pannonia, which had brought Augustus to Aquileia, where Herod waits on him with his two Sons. First Expedition of Drusus against the Sicambrians, the Usipetes and the Frisians, after which he takes a Survey of the Gauls.

743. 11. 54. 55. } Q. Ælius Tubero.
Q. or P. Fabius Maximus.

Augustus musters the Inhabitants of Rome and closes the second Lustrum. He also performs the Dedication of Marcellus's Theatre. Pliny attaches this last Fact to this Year, and Dio is mistaken when he refers it to the Year 741. Tiberius marrys Julia Widow of young Marcellus and Agrippa, after repudiating Vipsania Agrippina, Agrippa's Daughter by his first Wife, and who was then big with her second Child. Death of Octavia, Augustus's Sister, Widow of Marcellus the Father, and of Mark Antony. Drusus early in the Spring returns to Germany, crosses the Rhine, conquers the Usipetes, invades the Country of the Sicambrians and Cherusians, and advances as far as the Weser. Augustus, that he might be near Drusus's Army, returns to Gaul with Tiberius tow'rs the Middle of the Year. Whilst Drusus pushes his Conquests in Germany, Tiberius is sent against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, whom he again reduces. About the End of the Year the Senat, on Account of the Victories of those two Princes, makes a Decree for shutting the Temple of Janus. Fresh Commotions of the Daci and the Dalmatians caus'd the Execution of this Decree to be suspended till the following Year. Tiberius takes up Arms again to subdue this People.

YEARS.

Life of HORACE.

lxi

YEARS.

CONSULS.

Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.

744.

10.

55. 56.

{ Julius Antony, Son of
the Triumvir.
Q. Fabius Maximus A-
fricanus.

Tiberius and Drusus were still engag'd during Winter, the one against the Daci or Getæ, the other against the Germans, and conquer 'em in the first Months of the Year. Augustus at his Return to Rome with these two Princes shuts the Temple of Janus for the third and last Time, and executes all the Orders made by the Senat the preceding Year. Tow'rd the End of the Year, War breaks out again in Germany, Drusus is sent to manage it. Tiberius sets out too to suppress a new Insurrection of the Dalmatians and Pan-
nonians.

Horace composes the Pieces

Descende cælo, dic age tibiâ.

Phæbus volentem prælia me loqui.

Quum tot sustineas ac tanta negotia solus.

Ut proficiscentem docui te sæpè diuque.

745.

9.

56. 57.

{ Claudius Drusus Nero.
T. Quintius Crispinus.

Drusus receives the Consulat in Germany, at the Head of his Army. Tiberius victorious in Pannonia and on the Banks of the Danube, visits Augustus at Pavia, before July. Drusus, after having obtain'd a Victory over the Germans, dyes in his Summer Quarters, July 11. by a Fall from his Horse, who tumbling on him broke his Leg. His Death happen'd the thirtyth Day after his Disaster. Augustus hearing at Pavia the News of his Fall, sent off Tiberius immediately, who made such quick Dispatch, that he was present at Drusus's Death. The latter had cross'd the Weser and advanc'd as far as the Elbe. On the News of his Victory they decree for him at Rome a Triumph and Feasts, as well as for Tiberius. Dionysius of Halicarnassus publishes his Roman Antiquitys.

YEARS,

YEARS			CONSULS.
Of Rome. Bef. J. C. Of Hor.			
746.	8.	57.	{ C. Marcius Censorinus. C. Afinius Gallus, Pol- lio's Son.

Augustus at his Return to Rome carries a Laurel-tree into Jupiter's Temple, for the Victories of Tiberius and Drusus. He quits the Title of Prince, which he had born for twenty Years; but the Senat obliges him to resume it for ten Years more. He reforms the Calendar that had got again into Disorder and Confusion thro' the Carelessness of the Pontiffs, and gives his own Name to the Month call'd formerly *Sextilis*. Tiberius is sent to continue the War in Germany. Augustus to be near him, marches into Gaul. The Sicambrians submit to Tiberius, who, without, concluding a Peace with the Germans, transport the Sicambrians to the other Side of the Rhine, and assigns them Lands along it's Banks on the left Hand. Horace dyes Nov. 27, being fifty-seven Years old, wanting eleven Days; about a Month before Mæcenas's Death.

'Tis doubtless on the Testimony of the Author of the ancient Life of Horace, that People have been hitherto almost universally persuaded that the Poet's Death follow'd that of Mæcenas. This Author says that Mæcenas, as he was dying, recommended Horace to Augustus in these Terms: *Horatii Flacci, ut mei, esto memor*. But besides that this Life contains several Facts which are at best very dubious, to me it appears that Prepossession has attributed to the Words just cited a Sense which they do not present. The Author says, Mæcenas gave Horace many Proofs of the constant Affection with which he always honor'd him, but the greatest of all in his Will, address'd to Augustus, wherein he spoke of this Poet in Terms full of Tenderness. This Will, which was not open'd 'till after Mæcenas's Death, had been made long before, and tho' Horace was already dead, his Name still continued in it, Mæcenas not having been afterwards in a Condition to make another Will, or not having judg'd it proper to

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to write it over again for so trifling a Matter. Here is the intire Passage: *Mæcenas quantopere eum dilexerit satis demonstratur illo epigrammate, &c. Sed multò magis extremis, tali ad Augustum elogio: Horatii Flacci, ut mei, esto memor.* A Testament contains the last Words of a Man and marks the Sentiments in which he desires to dye. *Extremis* is for *extremis verbis, supremis tabulis*. It may be even prov'd that this is the true Sense of those Words, by what the same Author says, that Horace was interr'd close by Mæcenas's Tomb, *humatus & conditus est juxta Mæcenatis tumulum*. And thus Cantilicius understood it in these two Verses:

Et Mæcenatis prope molliter ossa sepultus

Occubat extremis Flaccus in Esquiliis.

There is still something more. Isidorus in his *Origines* L. 19. c. 32. cites these Lines of a Piece in phæleucian Verse, wherein Mæcenas expresses his Regrets for Horace's Death:

Lugens te, mea vita, nec smaragdos,

Berillos neque, Flacce mi, nitentes,

Nec percandida margarita quæro;

Nec quos Thinica lima perpolivit

Annellos, neque Jaspios lapillos.

These Lines are surely Mæcenas's, the Stile exactly corresponding with that of his other Fragments, and they manifestly suppose that the Poet dy'd first. In fine, several learned Men, among others Turnebus, Torrentius, Doufa, and Andrew Schot, have found so little Foundation for the common Opinion, that they cou'd not help quitting it, to imbrace that which I have follow'd after them. If Mr. Dacier had not been seduc'd by Prejudice, he might have sav'd himself the Trouble of inventing Reasons to excuse Horace, for not having left us any Marks of his Sorrow for the Loss he sustain'd by the Death of Mæcenas.

Two Passages of our Poet misunderstood have thrown some learned Men into an Error concerning him. He says in the Satire *Hoc erat in votis, &c. 35:*

Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.

De re communi scribæ magnâ atque novâ te

Orabant bodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.

The

The first of these Verses has given room to imagin that he was an Advocate. The Conjecture is frivolous and without Foundation. The Poet's Words import only the Idea of a Solicitor, as the Romans employ'd them, to honour their Cause by their Presence, and to shew thereby that they were interested therein.

The Author of the ancient Life of Horace and the Herd of Commentators after him have imagin'd that Horace on his Return to Rome after the Battel of Philippi bought a Clerkship in the Treasury, *scriptum quaestorium comparavit*. This Fact, which they give Us as incontestable, has not the least Color of Probability. In the first Place 'tis only supported by the second Verse of those I just now cited, where 'tis said that the Clerks of the Exchequer address'd themselves to Horace and implor'd his Protection in an Affair that concern'd their whole Body, *de re communi*. Now that does not suppose in any Manner that he himself was of that Body. Secondly, at his Return from Philippi he found himself without Land and without Income, as he says himself. Whence then the Money to purchase this Office? Thirdly, he refus'd to be Augustus's Secretary, which wou'd have been much more honorable and profitable than a private Clerkship in the Exchequer. Lastly, in the Epistle *Flore bona*, among the Occupations that hinder'd him from writing Verses, he makes no Mention of such an Employment.

End of the Life of Horace.

L

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AN
ALPHABETIC
TABLE
OF THE
LYRIC PIECES
OF
HORACE.

According to the old and the new Distribution.

PIECES.	Old		New	
	Distribution.		Distribution.	
	Book.	Ode.	Book.	Ode.
A.				
Æ LI vetusto.	3	17	5	5
Æ quam memento.	2	3	3	9
Albus ut obscuro.	—	—	2	11
Altera jam teritur.	5	16	2	13
Angustam amici.	3	2	1	19
At o Deorum.	5	5	5	8
Audivere Lyce.	4	13	2	19
B.				
Bacchum in remotis.	2	19	1	11
Beatus ille.	5	2	5	1
C.				
Cælo supinas.	3	23	2	2
Cælo tonantem.	3	5	4	16
Cur me quereles.	2	17	4	18
D. Delicta				

PIECES.	Old		New	
	Distribution.		Distribution.	
D.	Book.	Ode.	Book.	Ode.
Delicta majorum.	3	6	3	1
Descende cœlo.	3	4	5	18
Dianam teneræ.	1	21	see odi profanum	
Diffugere nives.	4	7	1	13
Dive quem proles.	4	6	see odi profanum	
Divis orte bonis.	4	5	5	15
Donarem pateras.	4	8	4	1
E.				
Eheu fugaces.	2	14	5	12
Est mihi nonum.	4	11	3	8
Et thure et fidibus.	1	36	3	17
Exegi monumentum.	3	30	5	20
F.				
Faune Nympharum.	3	18	1	18
Festo quid potius die.	3	28	1	17
H.				
Herculis ritu.	3	14	3	18
Horrida tempestas.	5	19	1	10
I J.				
Jam jam efficaci.	5	17	5	9
Jam pauca aratro.	2	15	3	16
Jam satis terris.	1	2	3	5
Jam veris comites.	4	12	4	11
Ibis Liburnis.	5	1	2	12
Icci beatis.	1	29	3	7
Ille et nefasto.	2	13	4	10
Impios parrae.	3	27	4	9
Inclusam Danaen.	3	16	2	4
Intactis opulentiôr.	3	24	1	20
Integer vitæ.	1	22	4	5
Iustum ac tenacem.	3	3	4	6
L.				
Laudabunt alii.	1	7	1	6
Lupus et agnis.	5	4	1	8
Lydia dic per omnes.	1	8	1	7

M. Mæcenas

P
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Nolis
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Nulla
Nullu
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O Ver
Odi pr
Otium
Parcus
Parent
Pastor
Persico
Phœbe
Phœbu

An Alphabetic TABLE.

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PÆCES.

	Old		New	
	Distribution.		Distribution.	
	Book.	Ode.	Book.	Ode.
M.				
Mæcenat atavis.	1	1	1	1
Malâ soluta.	5	10	4	7
Martiis cælebs.	3	8	4	13
Mercuri facunde.	1	10	1	12
Mercuri nam te.	3	11	1	5
Montium custos.	3	22	1	16
Motum ex Metello.	2	1	2	17
Mufis amicus.	1	26	3	19
N.				
Natis in usum.	1	27	1	15
Ne fortè credas.	4	9	5	10
Nolis longa feræ.	2	12	3	11
Non ebur neque aureum.	2	18	5	6
Non semper imbres.	2	9	4	12
Non usitatâ.	2	20	3	13
Nullam, Vare, sacrâ.	1	18	1	9
Nullus argento.	2	2	3	12
Nunc est bibendum.	1	37	2	15
O.				
O Diva gratum.	1	35	3	6
O fons Bandusiæ.	3	13	2	5
O formosus adhuc.	4	10	5	2
O matre pulchrâ.	1	16	5	3
O nata mecum.	3	21	2	8
O navis referent.	1	14	3	2
O sæpè mecum.	2	7	1	4
O Venus regina.	1	30	4	17
Odi profanum.	3	30	4	20
Otium Divos.	2	16	5	4
P.				
Parcus Deorum.	1	34	2	3
Parentis olim.	5	3	3	4
Pastor quum traheret.	1	15	2	9
Perficos odi.	1	38	2	10
Phœbe sylvarum.	5	18	see odi profanum	
Phœbus volentem.	4	15	5	19

Pindarum

PIECES.	Old		New	
	Distribution.		Distribution.	
	Book.	Ode.	Book.	Ode.
Pindarum quisquis.	4	2	5	11
Poscitur. Si quid.	1	32	4	19
Q.				
Quæ cura patrum.	4	14	5	17
Qualem ministrum.	4	4	5	16
Quando repostum.	5	9	2	14
Quantum distet ab Inacho.	3	19	4	14
Quem tu Melpomene.	4	3	2	1
Quem virum aut heroa.	1	12	3	20
Quid bellicosus.	2	11	4	14
Quid dedicatum.	1	31	3	3
Quid fles Asterie.	3	7	2	16
Quid immerentes.	5	6	5	13
Quid obseratis.	5	17	see Jamjam efficaci.	
Quis desiderio.	1	24	3	15
Quo me, Bacche, rapis.	3	25	2	20
Quo quo scelesti.	5	7	2	6
R.				
Rectius vives.	2	10	3	10
Regum timendorum.	—	—	5	14
S.				
Scribêris Vario.	1	6	2	18
Septimi Gades.	2	6	4	3
Sic te Diva potens Cypri.	1	3	4	15
Solvitur acris hyems.	1	4	1	3
Spiritum Phœbus.	—	—	see odi profanum	
T.				
Te maris et terræ.	1	28	4	4
Tu ne quæsieris.	1	11	2	7
Tyrrhena regum.	3	29	4	8
V.				
Velox amœnum.	1	17	5	7
Vides ut altâ.	1	9	1	2
Vile potabis.	11	20	1	14
Vixi puellis.	3	26	4	2

Q HORATII FLACCI
LYRICORUM CARMINUM
LIBER PRIMUS.

THE
O D E S
OF
H O R A C E.
BOOK FIRST.

2 HORATII FLACCI

LYRICORUM CARMINUM

LIBER PRIMUS

THE

O D E S

H O R A C E

BOOK FIRST

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T A B L E

OF THE

O D E S

Contain'd in the first BOOK,

Compos'd between the Years 714 and 720 of *Rome*;

That is to say,

Between the 25 and 31 of *HORACE*.

New Distribution.		Old Distribution.	
		Book.	Ode.
1.	M Æcenas atavis.	1	1
2.	M Vides ut altâ.	1	9
3.	Solvitur acris hyems.	1	4
4.	O sæpè mecum.	2	7
5.	Mercuri nam te.	3	11
6.	Laudabunt alii.	1	7
7.	Lydia dic per omnes.	1	8
8.	Lupis et agnis.	5	4
9.	Nullam Vare sacrâ.	1	18
10.	Horrida tempestas.	5	13
11.	Bacchum in remotis.	2	19
12.	Mercuri facunde.	1	10
13.	Diffugère nives.	4	7
14.	Vile potabis.	1	20
15.	Natis in usum.	1	27
16.	Montium custos.	3	22
17.	Festo quid potius die.	3	28
18.	Faune Nympharum.	3	18
19.	Angustam amici.	3	2
20.	Intactis opulentior.	3	24
		CARMEN	

C A R M E N I.

AD CILNIUM MÆCENATEM.

Aliis alios studiis duci. Se Lyrici vatis gloriam ambire unius Mæcenatis iudicio obtinendam.

MÆCENAS atavis edite regibus,
O & præsidium & dulce decus meum :

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympium
Collegisse juvat, metaque fervidis
5 Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.

Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergemini tollere honoribus ;
Illum, si proprio condidit horreo
10 Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis.
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
Agros ; Attalici conditionibus
Numquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypriâ
Myrtoum, pavidus nauta, secet mare.

15 Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens, otium & oppidi
Laudat rura sui : mox reficit rates
Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.

Est

ODE FIRST.

TO

MÆCENAS.

Every Man, following the Bent of his own Inclination, engages in a different Pursuit. *Horace* ambitiously aspires to the Character of *lyric Poet*, and will receive it only from the Suffrage of *Mæcenas*.

ILLUSTRIOUS Offspring of Kings, my Support and Glory; *how widely different are the Inclinations of Men!*

Some love to drive a rattling Car thro' Whirlwinds of *olympic* Dust at the *olympic* Games. If, maugre the fiery Swiftneſs that wings the Wheels, they nicely decline the dang'rous Gaol, and snatch the triumphal Prize from their Rivals, they imagin themselves equal to the Gods who rule the Universe.

Propose the Wealth of *Attalus* to a Person whom a Faction of intriguing People is zealous to raise to the three first Magistracys; propose it to another, who is eagerly accumulating in his Granarys all the Corn of *Libya*; or to a Man, who places his Happyness in the Culture of the Lands his Ancestors left him; yet never will you by this high Offer persuade 'em to embark in Commerce, and risk their Lives and Fortunes in a frail Vessel.

The Merchant congel'd with Fear at the Sight of Billows rais'd by a tempestuous Wind regrets the Tranquility he once enjoy'd in a Country life. Is his Danger over? The Fear of Indigence obliges him to refit his Vessels damag'd by the Storm.

VOL. I.

E

Old

Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
 20 Nec partem solido demere de die
 Spernit ; nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
 Stratus, nunc ad aquæ lene caput sacræ.

Multos castra juvant, & lituo tubæ
 Permissus sonitus, bellaque matribus
 25 Detestata. Manet sub Jove frigido
 Venator teneræ conjugis immemor ;
 Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
 Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.

Te doctarum ederæ præmia frontium
 30 Dis miscent superis ; me gelidum nemus,
 Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
 Secernunt populo ; si neque tibus
 Euterpe cohibet, nec Polyhymnia
 Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.

35 Quòd si me Lyricis vatibus inferis,
 Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

REMARKS on ODE I. BOOK I.

ODES.] This Name we give in *English* to Pieces of lyric Poetry. The Latin Tongue does not furnish us with a single Word to express the same Idea. *Carmen* may signify something else, and *Oda* or *Ode* have been latiniz'd by Authors of the third or fourth Century. I have call'd the Odes of *Horace* *Carmina Lyrica* or *melica*. Our Grammarians perceiving *Horace* has more than once imploy'd the single Term *Carmen*, to signify *lyric Poetry*, have not scrupled to set it at the Head of his Odes. But it is very apparent the Poet never intended it for a general Title to them.

The

Ode I. HORACE'S ODES.

7

Old *massic* Wine regales the Toper's Palate. Supinely lolling on the flow'ry Sod, sometimes beneath the Shade of verdant Foliage, and sometimes at the sacred Source of a gentle Stream, he scorns to pass less than half the Day in *bacchanalian* Joys.

Many delight to shine in Arms, the loud Clangor of Trumpets and Clarions heats their Imagination; and Combats, which are to Women an Object of Horror, have Charms for them.

A Man that has a Passion for the Chase loses even the Remembrance of a Spouse, who loves him tenderly; he lies whole Nights expos'd to the Injuriys of the Air, whether his Hounds have dislodg'd a Hind, or a wild Boar has plung'd into his Toils.

In fine, 'tis clear, You have been powerfully attracted by the Graces of Poetry, since those Wreaths, which adorn the Brows of Bards, have rais'd You to the Rank of Immortals.—As for me, assisted by the Favor of the Muses I only seek to distinguish myself from the profane Vulgar, by singing on the Lute and Lyre the cool Refreshment of shady Groves and the nimble Dances of Nymphs and Satyrs.

But if You place Me in the Choir of *lyric* Bards, sublime thro' Air I'll spring, nor cease to soar, 'till starry Glory blaze around my Head.

The Stile of this Piece is a Mixture of the *Middle* and the *Sublime*. It's Characters are natural, various, and comprehended in a few Words; the Expressions sometimes simple and plane, sometimes metaphoric and florid, sometimes spritely and shining, always proportion'd to the Images he draws.

It is not the first in the Order of his Composition. I leave it however at the Head of the rest, because it is like a Dedication of 'em. Beautiful as it is, I cou'd wish the Poet had avoided some Repetitions. *Evebit ad Deos, Dis miscent superis, feriam sidera vertice*, present the same Idea three Times, almost in the same Terms.

E 2

γ 2. *Præsidium*

‡ 2. *Præsidium et Decus.*] This is sayd in general. The Esteem and Friendship of *Mæcenæ*s did great Honor to our Poet, *Decus*. He receiv'd from him, as he often acknowledges, great *Succors* in his Fortune, *Præsidium*. They who understand by the last Word the Pardon *Horacæ* obtain'd from *Octavian*, for having follow'd the Party of *M. Brutus*, suppose a Fact that wants Proof.

‡ 3. *Sunt quos curriculo, &c.*] The Harmony alone of these charming Verses stamps upon the Reader's Imagination a lively Image of the Action describ'd in them. We fancy ourselves present at the Diversion, that we hear the rolling of Chariots, and see Whirlwinds of Dust, &c. It is only given to great Masters to copy Nature so closely: *Lucretius*, *Virgil* and *Horace* have this Advantage above all other Poets. I have indeavor'd to infuse the same Graces into the Translation.

Olympium.] I shall not here repeat the Proofs for this Reading, which *M. Cuningam* has produc'd against *Dr. Bentley*, in the tenth Chapter of his ANIMADVERSIONS. They appear to me so strong, that I can't help subscribing to them.

‡ 7. *Mobilium.*] *Busling* to get Votes for their Friend before an Election. The Word *certat* naturally leads to this Explication.

Hunc si mobilium.] The Poet here distinguishes three very different Inclinations, and it is surprizing that some Interpreters have confounded them. Others think it strange that *Horace* shou'd make such a Proposal to those three Persons, as to the first to renounce an honorable Employment, to the second to give over a gainful Traffic, and to the third to abandon the Pleasures of a quiet Life, in order to turn Adventurers at Sea, in Expectation of a remote and uncertain Fortune. These Critics cou'd not have made so frivolous an Objection if they had not mistaken the Poet's Thought. He does not here search for an Agreement between the fourth Part which he proposes and the three preceding ones; he will not even say that the last

last is more advantageous than the three former. He only considers the Diversity of all these Conditions, without attending to the Equality or Inequality that may be found in them, and that sufficiently answers the Design of his Piece, which is to shew that every Man following the Bent of his own Inclination engages in different Employments and is attach'd to them preferably to any other. Some, says he, aspire at the highest Stations, to which they see themselves call'd by the Suffrages of the People; some seek to enrich themselves by the Traffic of *african* Corn; others charm'd with the Tranquility of a Country-life make the Improvement of their Estates their sole Diversion. Now if you shou'd propose to these Persons to cross the Seas, in order to make a Fortune by Trade, that is to say, propose to them a Change of Passion, or the Use of other Means for the Gratification of it than those they have already imbrac'd, you cou'd never accomplish your Purpose, tho' you shou'd give them Hopes of getting all the Treasure of the Kings of *Pergamus*. Now I see no Confusion, nor Contradiction in all this.

¶ 20. *Nec partem solido demere de die spernit.*] *Dies solidus* is a whole Day, *pars* is the Half of it; so *demere partem de die solido*, is to take a Moiety of a Day, *Lucretius* says *plus ut parte foras emergant* for *plus dimidiâ parte*; and *Horace* says else where in the same Sense *Meæ partem animæ*, and *animæ dimidium meæ*.

Non spernit.] He does not despise, is for *maxime amat*, he loves above all Things. So we say of a hard Drinker that he does not hate a Glass of Wine, instead of saying he loves it in his Heart. This is a Figure of Diminution, which *Horace* uses often, and which may be graceful in Poetry.

¶ 22. *Aquæ lene caput sacræ.*] For *Caput sacrum aquæ leniter fluentis*, as I have render'd it in the Translation. The Sources of Fountains were consecrated.

¶ 24. *Bellaque matribus detestata.*] Mothers abhor War on account of their Husbands and Sons; but young Girls shou'd have no less an Abhorrence to it for the Sake of the Objects of their Tenderness, whom

Glory snatches from them, and lifts under the Banners of Mars. For this Reason I take *Matres* here in it's most extensive Sense, as the Poets often use it, for the whole Sex.

† 28. *Seu rupit teretes.*] Whether a wild Boar has rush'd into his Toils. I must own this Translation appears different from the *Latin*: but I am persuaded it is the true Sense of the Author. They made use of Dogs to drive the Beast into their Nets, to involve him and take him with more Ease. Horace himself says so in the Ode, *Beatus ille*:

*Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multâ cane
Apros in obstantes plagas.*

If then the wild Boar has broken the Toils, the Chase is at an End, and the Huntsman has nothing left but the Despair of having mist of his Prey.

Rupit is here therefore for *irrupit*, the simple for the compound. Our Poet writes elsewhere, *cedere* for *incedere*, and *levare* for *elevare*. It may be alledg'd 'tis a Fault to imploy the simple for the compound, when they have contrary Significations. I allow it, but this Fault is here corrected, because the Sense I affix to *rupit*, is sufficiently determin'd by the Thought of the Poet, which cannot be equivocal.

† 29. *Te doctarum ederae.*] *Rutgerius* propos'd this excellent Reading, which regards the distinguish'd Rank *Mæcnas* possess'd upon *Parnassus*, not only by his

C A R M E N II. A D T H A L I A R C H U M.

Hortatur ad hyemem hilarè transigendam.

L. 1.
Od. 9.

VIDES ut altâ stet nive candidum
Soraete, nec jam sustineant onus
Sylvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto.

Dissolve

Ode I. HORACE'S ODES.

II

his Poetry, but also because he was as it were the Judge of Poetic Merit, and the Dispenser of it's Rewards. Besides, this Correction is necessary, to remove a Contradiction which the vulgar Reading naturally presents. In reading *Me*, HORACE wou'd say, his Poetry had rank'd him with the Gods, *Dis miscent superis*; and then wou'd add, that the Suffrage of *Mæcenas* must raise him to Heaven.

† 30. *Me gelidum nemus, &c.*] These five Verses are admirable for Loftynefs of Thought, Gracefulness of Expression, lively Images and smooth Cadence.

† 35. *Quòd si, &c.*] There is an Air of Flattery, and yet a Turn of Delicacy in this Conclusion. *Horace* distinguish'd from the Vulgar by the Favor of the Muses, set on an equal Footing with the sweet Singers of *Lesbos*, introduc'd to the consecrated Groves, and admitted to the Assemblys of rural Divinitys, still aspires at something greater. He still wants to obtain the Suffrage of *Mæcenas* to seal his Glory with Immortality. This is to make in a couple of Words the complete Elogium of his illustrious Protector, and to collect in one Stroke the whole Design of the Ode. In short this Encomium, tho' it carries Flattery with it, is not without Foundation. *Mæcenas*, besides several Works in Prose, compos'd a great Number of Verses, at the least ten Books of Poetry and two of Tragedys. The lyric Poets, *Horace* speaks of, are those of *Greece*. He has the Honor to be the first *latin* Poet, that has deserved to be ranked with them.

ODE II. TO THALIARCHUS.

He exhorts him to pass the Winter agreeably.

BEHOLD the swelling Bulk of SORACTE. It looks a dazzling Mount of Snow. The leafless Woods bow their hoar Heads beneath the Winter's Burden. Rivers with icy Fetters bound suspend their Course.

E 4

Throw

5 Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco
 Largè reponens ; atque benigniùs
 Deprome quadrimum Sabinâ,
 O Thaliarche, merum diotâ.

Permitte Divis cætera ; qui simul
 10 Stravère ventos æquore fervido
 Depræliantes, nec cupressi,
 Nec veteres agitantur orni.

Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere ; &
 Quem Fors dierum cūque dabit, lucro
 15 Appone ; neu dulces Camenas
 Sperne, puer, neque tu choreas.
 Donec virenti canities abest
 Morosa ; nunc & campus, & aræ,
 Lenesque sub noctem fufurri
 20 Compositâ repetantur horâ.

REMARKS on ODE II.

HORACE here exposes his usual Topic of Morality. Like a stanch *Epicurean*, he draws an Argument from ev'ry Thing in Favor of Mirth, ev'ry Age of Man, ev'ry Season of the Year, ev'ry Event of Life is a new Solicitation to his Pleasure. We shall see further Proofs of this in the ODE *Solvitur acris hyems*, and in several others. The Poet probably made this Piece on his Arrival at *Thaliarchus's* Villa in the Neighborhood of Mount *Soraacte*.

¶ 1. *Stet nive.*] That is to say *constet nive*. HORACE presents this Mountain to our View *quasi totus nive constaret*, as if it's whole Consistence were of Snow. They, who explaine it otherwise, have not perceiv'd the whole Force of this Expression. This Figure has a good Effect here, and is perfectly well supported by the

Throw Piles of Billets on the blazing Hearth, my THALIARCHUS, to dissolve the Cold without; but to unfix the Frost within, be more generous, and instant in your largest Flagon fetch Us Nectar four Years old.

Be this thy sole Concern; leave the rest to the Care of the Gods. At the first Signal of their Displeasure the licentious Rage of the Winds in Mutiny confederate against the foaming Billows of the Sea is sudden hush'd, and the dying-Gales pant upon the tallest Trees.

Seek not to know To-Morrow's Casualties; but look on each Day, which Fortune shall allow beyond the present, as a mighty Treasure. In the Bloom of Life, whilst morose Old age is still at Distance, it will be graceful enough in You to love the sportive Dance and charming Song, to frequent the Field of MARS, to appear in the public Walks, and to be found in the Ev'nings Dusk true to your Assignations at those agreeable Rendezvous, where Friends in gentle Whispers impart the Secrets of their Souls.

the Images the Poet exhibits in the three subsequent Verses.

¶ 6. *Benignius.*] The Necessity of the Verse, says Mr. Dacier, oblig'd HORACE to commit a Fault contrary to all Rules, which exacted his writing *largius* after he had put down *largè*. I don't know whether the *Latins* had the same Delicacy upon that Point that we have, at least it appears to me that there is Room to doubt it. In the ODE *Quid fies Asterie*: HORACE says, *Et te sæpè vocanti duram difficilis mane*, where, according to Mr. Dacier's Principle, the Poet shou'd have said, *vocanti duram dura mane*; and I cou'd produce sev'ral other Examples thereof. Another Reason which hinders me from subscribing to the Censure of this knowing Commentator, is, that I don't see what could oblige HORACE to sacrifice the Justness from which he is sayd to deviate. A Poet like

I'm cou'd hardly be at a Loss to match the Regularity of a Verse with the Justness of an Expression. Who will be persuaded that he was not able to turn his Verse so as to bring in *largius* after *large*, or *benignè* before *benignius*? I cou'd cite Poets in our Days far inferior to HORACE, who are unacquainted with this Necessity, and whom no Form of Verse cou'd ever oblige to admit an Expression which did not to them appear just. M. Cuningam, induc'd apparently by Mr. Dacier's Scruple, is for introducing *benignior* into the Text. This Correction wou'd remove the Difficulty if there was any; but it is equally destroy'd by the Manuscripts and Editions, and the Text does not stand in need of it.

† 9. *Permitte Divis cetera.*] The Stoics attributed the most inconsiderable Events to Divine Providence. The Epicureans on the contrary made all depend on Hazard and Fortune. HORACE sets forth both these Sentiments in this and the following Stanza. Nothing here proves *Tbaliarchus* a Stoic, as Mr. Dacier pretends. The Poet only tells his Friend, that, Whether

C A R M E N III.

A D S E S T I U M.

Veris adventu et vitæ brevitæ nos ad hilaritatem invitari.

L. 7.
Od. 4.

SOLVITUR acris hyems gratâ vice veris &
Favoni,
Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas.

Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator
igni;
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.

Jam

ther *Stoic* or *Epicurean*, he shou'd equally think of in-joying the Pleasures of Life, and leave all the rest to the Care of the Gods or to Fortune. This I think the true Sense of this Passage.

‡ 10. *Stravere ventos.*] No Image can be more lively, no Cadence more pompous, no Expression more emphatic. Master-strokes will slip from great Poets in their minutest Pieces.

‡ 16. *Neque tu choreas.*] *Scaliger* has found this *tu* usefess and insipid. The *Latins* apparently did not judg so, since they have often express'd themselves in the same Manner, as *Dr. Bentley* has observ'd and prov'd.

‡ 18. *Nunc & campus.*] *Nunc* refers to *Donec*, and means that Youth is the fittest Season for such Pleasures, as is sufficiently clear from the Word *puer* in the 16th Verse. The Poet in short only regards *Thaliarchus's* Age, and not the bitter Season of the Year, which he speaks no more of after the two first Strophes, and which seems a little improper for a nocturnal Rendez-vous or a *tête-à-tête* Gallantry out of Doors.

O D E III.

T O S E S T I U S.

That the Return of Spring and the Shortness of Life
invite us to live merrily.

A T lenth amiable SPRING born on the expanded Wings of a ZEPHYR puts rigorous WINTER to Flight. Now Mariners by the Help of Machines draw down their Ships which lay on the Dry to the neglected Seas.

The ranging Ox is no longer pleas'd with his once warm Stall, the Cottage-swain no longer hangs o'er the late inliv'ning Blaze, and our Fields are no more shag'd with nipping White.

16 HORATII LYRICORUM. Lib. I.

5 Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente lunâ ;
Junctæque Nymphis Gratiaë decentes
Alternò terram quatiant pede: dum graves Cy-
clopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.

Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire
myrto,
10 Aut flore, terræ quem ferunt solutæ.

Nunc & in umbrosis. Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agnâ, five malit hædo.

Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres. O beate Sesti,
15 Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare lon-
gam.

Jam te premet nox, fabulæque Manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
Non regna vini fortiere talis.

REMARKS on ODE III.

THE Character of this ODE is spritely enough. Even the Conclusion, which to Us appears serious, is, in the Poet's Way of Thinking, quite the Reverse. According to the Principles of the EPICUREANS, the Prospect of Death was a Reason for passing Life agreeably, and that's all HORACE proposes by it. He unites here three Feasts of the Spring, viz. those of VENUS, FAUNUS, and the DEAD.

y 1. Sol-

VENUS now re-assembles her Choirs of Virgins at Moon-rise, and leads the Ball. The Nymphs and the Sister-Graces in modest Attire dance Hand-in-Hand to rural Harmony on the verdant Level; whilst VULCAN with adust Visage urges the black Labors of the sweating CYCLOPS, and blows up the raging Fires of his glowing Forges.

The universal Gaiety invites Us to perfume ourselves with Essences, and to adorn our Heads with Crowns of od'rous Myrtle, or Flow'rs new-springing from the Bosom of th' unfolding Earth.

The Season restores the Feasts of FAUNUS. 'Tis Time to enter the Groves consecrated to this God. A bleating Lamb, or, if he more approves a Kid, a tender Kid must stain his shaded Altar.

Happy SESTIUS, let us make the most of these golden Moments that are so transient. The terrific King knocks without Distinction as well at the tower'd Structure of the Monarch, as at the humble Hut of the Peasant. Our Lives at the longest are too short for entertaining distant Hopes.

An eternal Night hastens to envelop thee, the Purgators of departed Spirits, so mightily talk'd of, soon will explore thee, and PLUTO's gaunt Domain will be the Goal where thy short Race of Life must quickly terminate. There once arriv'd, bid adieu to the sov'rein Pow'r of ruling the Glafs at Feasts which the Game of Hazard has so oft decided in thy Favor.

‡ 1. *Solvitur.*] This is a fine Beginning; there is Poetry in the Turn, and Justness in the Expression.

‡ 2. *Trabuntque siccas.*] I confess this Verse has ever given me Pain. The Image of these Ships hal'd to Sea by Engines, has, I think, something gross in it, which does not fort well with ZEPHYRS, VENUS, NYMPHS, and GRACES. This disagreeable Disparate spoils the Beginning of the ODE a little, which in other Respects is not without it's Beautys.

‡ 13. *Pal-*

† 13. *Pallida Mors.*] This is the second Motive HORACE urges to ingage *Sestius* to injoy the Pleasures of Life. Mr. *Dacier* thinks the Poet speaks of the *mortuary Feasts*. This Conjecture improves the Passage, and agrees perfectly well with my Sentiment of the Design and Conduct of the Ode.

† 14. O

CARMEN IV.

• A. U. C. DCCXV.

[AD POMPEIUM GROS PHUM

Amicum fibi ac patriæ restitutum gratulatur.

L. 2.
Od. 7.

O Sæpè mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte, Bruto militiæ duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dis patriis, Italoque cœlo,
5 Pompei, meorum prime sodalium?
Cum quo morantem sæpè diem mero
Fregi, coronatus nitentes
Malobathro Syrio capillos.

Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
10 Sensi, relictâ non bene parmulâ;
Quum fracta virtus, & minaces,
Turpè! solum tetigere mento.

Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aere:
15 Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit æstuosis.

Ergo obligatam redde Jovi dapem;
Longâque fessum militiâ latus
Depone sub lauru meâ; neu
20 Parce cadis tibi destinatis.

* 14. *O beate Sesti.*] Probably *Lucius Sestius Nepos*, who had continu'd constantly faithful to *Brutus's* Party, and whom *Augustus*, to attach him to his Interest, made Consul in his own Room in the Year 731.

ODE IV.

TO POMPEIUS GROS PHUS.

He is overjoy'd at his Return to *Rome*.

O POMPEY my earliest Acquaintance, with whom I've often o'er the ample Bowl pass'd half the Day during the Summer's Heats, my Head the while with sweetest Roses crown'd, and perfum'd with the most exquisit Essences of the *Levant*; what good Genius has at lenth given thee back to *ROME*, to thy native Country, to thy Gods? Alas! how oft have You and I to extreme Dangers been expos'd, when we serv'd in *Brutus's* Army?

Our luckless Stars doom'd both of Us to try *Philippi's* bloody Battle, for our dreadful Rout so memorable, where I to speed my Flight ignobly dropt my cumb'rous Shield; where Valor itself prov'd impotent; where the Victor forc'd the fiercest Heros to gnash, ingloriously! th' infanguin'd Dust.

Amid my Terrors, the God of Eloquence and Wit diffus'd a Veil of thicken'd Air around me, and safe convey'd me thro' the hostil Throng. But a tempestuous Tide ingulf'd my Friend, and bore thee back to new Slaughter.

Now then to Ease restor'd acquit thy Obligations: offer to *JOVE* the promis'd Sacrifice; enter my Grove of Laurels, and thy self repose, spent with the military Toils of many Years; spare nor the breathing
Odors

Oblivioso levius Massico

Ciboria exple : funde capacibus

Unguenta de conchis. Quis udo

Deproperare apio coronas,

25 Curatve myrto ? Quem Venus arbitrum

Dicet bibendi ? Non ego fanius

Bacchabor Edonis : recepto

Dulce mihi furere est amico.

REMARKS on ODE IV.

THIS ODE is a Kind of *in promptu*, and may be esteem'd a Master-piece. The Poet seems to have made it at his own House, being in Company, when his old Friend *Pompeius Grosphus*, who had been several Years absent, and whose Return he had despair'd of, by his sudden Entrance threw him into Raptures. The Scene presents itself naturally, and gives to the Sentiments therein express'd an unspeakable Life and Piquancy which highly inhanche their Worth.

Mr. *Masson* places the Composition of this ODE at the Beginning of 715. Mr. *Dacier* carries it forward to 719. I think the first Sentiment alone probable. When the Peace was concluded at *Misenum* between *Sextus Pompey* and the *Triumvirs*, the latter granted a general Amnesty to those who had follow'd *Pompey's* Party. This was therefore a favorable Opportunity for *Horace's* Friend to throw down his Arms and return to *Rome*. They granted no such Thing after *Pompey's* Defeat, which was follow'd by his Flight and Death. All the Senators and Knights who had been attach'd to him, were punish'd with Death, except a very inconsiderable Number. His Legions were incorporated with those of *Octavian*. The Slaves were deliver'd to their Masters to be punish'd by them, and those who did not find their Masters, were crucify'd. 'Tis probable *Horace's* Friend would have met with no more Mercy than the Senators and Knights. This

Odors nor the Wine I destin'd for thy Use; swill pond'rous Brimmers of this sprightly Massic, potent to extinguish the Remembrance of anxious Cares. Quick, quick, my Slaves, twine Wreaths of Parsly or of Myrtle green. Let's see whom the lucky Cast will Sov'rein of the genial Feast design. I am determin'd to play the *Bacchanal* to Day. Can a little Madness be more agreeably plac'd than at the unexpected Return of an old Friend?

Piece was therefore made in 715, which was Horace's 26th Year.

† 1. *Sæpè*.] The Dangers our Poet underwent in *Brutus's* Army were the Battle near *Apollonia* against some Cohorts of *Caius Antony*, another against the *Lycians*, and several slight Actions, that preceded the decisive Stroke at *Philippi*, and which are related by Historians.

Mecum — *Bruto militiæ duce*.] As HORACE cou'd easily have omitted this Circumstance, and has not, it proves against Mr. *Dacier* that the Poet was not afraid of reviving in *Octavian's* Mind the Idea of his Ingagement in *Brutus's* Army, as we shall farther see in the ODE *descende cælo*, and elsewhere.

† 3. *Quis te redonavit*.] This is not an Interrogation proceeding from Uncertainty or Ignorance, but a Manner of Exclamation, a natural and lively Expression of the Poet's Joy. In Fact this Friend of his was very lucky to have been with *Sextus Pompey* in Sicily. The Troops who declar'd for the same Party in the East were not comprehended in the Peace of *Misenum*.

† 9. *Philippos*.] This Construction is doubly remarkable, *sensu Philippos & fugam* for *sensu Philippensem fugam*. Many are the Examples, where the same Idea is divided in the Expression; but I don't know whether *sentio* for *intersum*, as the Poet here employs it, can be found, any where else.

¶ 10. *Parmulâ.*] HORACE's Candor is observable in preserving to Us in his Works the Memorial of his Cowardise. But in this he had great Precedents. *Archilochus*, *Alcæus* and *Demosthenes* had the like Adventure before him, and publicly avow'd it. Nothing can cover their Fault more advantageously. Next to Brav'ry, says Mr. *Tourreil*, I know nothing more brave than a frank Confession of Poltrony.

¶ 11. *Fraeta virtus.*] That is *virtus ipsa resistendo impar fuit*. This is to do Justice to the conquer'd, and at the same Time to praise the Conquerors. The best Troops were on the Side of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but Victory declar'd for *Octavian* and *Antony*. The more formidable an Enemy, the more glorious the Defeat.

¶ 12. *Turpè!*] I believe HORACE did not intend to refer this Word to *solum*, but to give it the Force of an Exclamation, which adds Sentiment to the Thought.

¶ 13. *Mercurius celer.*] This is the second Time this Epithet appears in the Compass of five Verses. The *latin* Poets, tho' they cou'd have avoided 'em, made no scruple of these Repetitions. I think at least they shou'd have set 'em at a greater Distance.

¶ 15. *Te rursus, &c.*] The Allegory is beautiful and well kept up, the Terms are chosen with Taste and imploy'd with Justness. This, says Mr. *Dacier*, is purely Historical. I grant it, but not in the Sense he gives it. That several of those who escap'd from

CARMEN V.

AD MERCURIUM.

Gravissimas vel in inferis poenas sævitæ constitutas esse.

L. 3. **M**ERCURI, (nam te docilis magistro
O. 11. Movit Amphion lapides canendo)

Tuque

Ode IV. HORACE'S ODES.

23

Philippi embark'd for *Italy*, in order to try to make their Peace; that the Vessel which carry'd 'em was sorely damag'd by a Tempest; that HORACE by the Favor of *Mæcenæ*s obtain'd his Pardon; lastly that *Pompey* our Poet's Friend, and others not having the same Protection, return'd in the same Vessel to *Sicily*, where they were receiv'd by *Sextus Pompey*, all this is the pure Invention of Mr. *le Fevre* countenanc'd by Mr. *Dacier* without Necessity and without Proof. The Truth of the Story is, That after the Battle of *Philippi* the greatest Number of *Brutus*'s Troops imbrac'd the Amnesty that was granted them. The rest got aboard the Fleet of *Domitius* and *Murcus*, which latter sail'd to join young *Pompey* against *Octavian* and *Antony*. 'Tis very natural to think that HORACE's Friend embark'd on *Murcus*'s Vessels, and that 'tis in this Sense the Poet says to him, *te rursus in bellum resorbens unda fretis tulit æstuosis*, a stormy Sea ingag'd thee anew in the Misfortunes of War.

† 18. *Longâ fessum militiâ.*] Five Years of War in a Party ever unfortunate are enow to tire a young Gentleman who has taken up Arms in Hopes of making his Fortune.

† 19. *Lauru.*] The singular for the Plural, the Distributive for the Collective. I see no other Mystery in it. Some will have this *Laurel* and also *Mercury* in the 13th Verse to be *Mæcenæ*s, which is to suppose what can't be prov'd, that HORACE obtain'd his Pardon by the Favor of *Mæcenæ*s.

ODE V.

TO MERCURY.

That Cruelty is punish'd even in Hell.

MERCURY, who by thy divine Lessons hast
Amphion taught to render Rocks most docile
 to

Tuque Testudo resonare septem
Callida nervis,

- 5 Nec loquax olim, neque grata ; nunc &
Divitum mensis & amica templis,
Dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
Adplicet aures.

- Tu potes tigres comitesque sylvas
10 Ducere, & rivos celeres morari.
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulæ
Cerberus : quamquam furiale centum
Muniunt angues caput, æstuatque
15 Spiritus teter, faniesque manat
Ore trilingui.

- Quin & Ixion Tityosque vultu
Risit invito : stetit urna paulum
Sicca dum grato Danaï puellas
20 Carmine mulces.

- Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
Virginum pœnas, & inane lymphæ
Dolum fundo pereuntis imo,
Seraque fata
25 Quæ manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
Impiæ, (nam quid potuere majus ?)
Impiæ sponfos potuere duro
Perdere ferro.

- Una de multis face nuptiali
30 Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendidè mendax, & in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum :
Surge, quæ dixit juveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
35 Non times, detur : focerum ac scelestas
Falle sorores ;

Quæ

to his Songs ; and Thou, O sounding LYRE, who with Skill dost into Voice and Harmony awake seven trembling Strings one silent and devoid of Grace, who by Kings and Gods carefs'd dost crown the Joys of Tables and of Temples, beneath my gentle Touch bring forth assuasive Airs that may softly steal upon th' unfolding Ear of stubborn LYDE.

By thy imperial Strains thou'rt powerful to draw fierce Tigers and list'ning Forests in thy dancing Train ; Thou dost th' impetuous Course of headlong Floods suspend. CERBERUS, the hideous Sentinel of th' infernal Palace, who, like the Furys, has a hundred grisly Serpents bristling on his Head, who from three frightful Throats a pestilential Steam exhales, and disgorges a black insanguin'd Foam lull'd by the Sweetness of thy Sounds confest thy Force.

From *Tityus* and *Ixion*, maugre the Violence of their Anguish, the Magic of thy pleasing Numbers extorted Smiles. The *Danaides* were enchanted with the Harmony, their streaming Urns dropt from their Hands, and became for the first Time dry.

Learn, cruel LYDE, the Crime these unhappy Brides committed and the Punishment they bear. Victims to Vengeance, who, tho' slow she moves, pursues the Guilty even to Hell, they are doom'd with idle Toil to fill a Hoghead, which as it's leaky Bottom lets the Water out as fast as they pour in. Their Impiety intirely new (for can Hell a Crime invent of blacker Dye ?) their Impiety transported 'em to plunge into the Breasts of their guiltless Bridegrooms a bloody Dagger.

One only of the num'rous Race, worthy of *Hymen's* Bliss was found, who, to her immortal Honor, by a glorious Lye prov'd to her perjurd Father false and true to Love :

Arise, says She, sweet Youth, arise. A Sleep eternal I am charg'd to give thee with the same Hand which a few Minutes since ingag'd to thee my Faith. Fly th' unsuspected Fury of my Father, fly, fly the Rage of my inhuman Sisters.

Alas !

Quæ, velut nactæ vitulos leænæ,
Singulos, eheu! lacerant. Ego illis
Mollior nec te feriam, neque intra
40 Claustra tenebo.

Me pater sævis oneret catenis,
Quòd viro clemens misero peperci;
Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
Classe releget.

45 I, pedes quò te rapiunt & auræ,
Dum favet nox & Venus; I secundo
Omne, & nostri memorem sepulcro in
sculpe querelam.

REMARKS on ODE V.

HORACE has greatly rais'd the Subject of this ODE by his pindaric Manner of handling it. There is Reason to believe he was young when he wrote it; if so, he was already a great Master in Poetry.

¶ 5. *Nec loquax olim, neque grata; nunc* [G.] 'Tis a Pity a Verse of so harsh Cadence shou'd escape our Poet in a Piece so charming and so correct in it's Versification.

¶ 13. *Cerberus.*] The Image of this monstrous Dog is so natural, I mean so hideous, that one can scarce read this Stanza without Horror. HORACE has no where else united so much Force at once in the Ideas, the Expressions and the Cadences. In this single Strophe we may discover the great Poet.

¶ 14. *Æstuatque.*] The Reading hitherto has been: *Muniunt angues caput ejus, atque.* The greatest Critics have found this Verse unworthy of HORACE. Never did he imploy *ejus* in an ODE unless it were distributive and follow'd by *qui*. Here it is absolutely useless, it mismatches the Verse, and preposterously

Alas! the instant I speak, they without Remorse mangle and disjoint their Lovers, as famish'd Lionesses tare young Bulls to Pieces. Melted to Pity by a purer Flame I spare thy Life and give thee Liberty.

Let my barb'rous Sire weigh down my Youth with galling Chains for not shedding the innocent Blood of my unfortunate Consort; an Exil let him send me to *Numidia's* remotest Wasts.——

Fly and be happy; Land and Sea are open to thee; conducted by VENUS and by NIGHT conceal'd go, and good Luck attend thee; only remember one Day on my Tomb t'ingrave in lasting Characters my matchless Piety and thy just Regrets.

rously throws an insipid Languor into one of the finest Pieces of Poety, that ever proceeded from the Pen of our Poet. How to refer *spiritus* to *manat* is no less an Obstruction. What a fantastic Disposition of Terms? What a strange Way of speaking? Is it natural that a Breath, a Vapor shou'd be capable of running or flowing out? All this has given Room to believe the Text to be defective and a Correction quite necessary. Dr. Bentley risk'd one which has miscarry'd. This which I have follow'd appears very natural. It differs but little from the ordinary Reading, it detaches *spiritus* from *manat*, and gives it another Verb much more agreeable to it, in short it supports the Cadence of the Verse perfectly well, and presents a most beautiful Sense. Mr. Cuningam introduc'd it into the Text before me.

‡ 21. *Audiat Lyde.*] At the Beginning of his Song he repeats *Lyde's* Name, to give her to understand that 'tis on her Account particularly he sings the Inspiration of *Mercury* and his *Lyre*.

‡ 48. *Insculpe querelam.*] Of all the Readings propos'd this appears to me the best. I believe that *scalpere* or *sculpere sepulchro*, *aere*, *saxo*, *marmore* are not to be found in good Authors, without the Preposition *in*.

CARMEN VI.

Tiburtini secessus amœnitatem describit.

L. 1. **L** AUDABUNT alii claram Rhodon, aut
Od. 7. Mitylenen,
Aut Ephefum, bimarifve Corinthi
Mœnia; vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline
Delphos
Insignes; aut Theffala Tempe.

5 Sunt quibus unum opus est intactæ Palladis
arces
Carminē perpetuo celebrare, &
Undique decerptam fronti præponere olivum.

Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicit equis Argos, ditescque Mycenæ.

10 Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon,
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albunæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, ac Tiburni lucus, & uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.

* * * * *

REMARKS on ODE VI.

THIS is properly but a Fragment. Mr. Dacier with Reason suspects that Verses are wanting in some Part of this ODE. Doubtless we want the

O D E VI.

He extols the delightful Situation of *Tivoli*.

LET others for the Subject of their Praises chuse the fam'd Isle of *Rhodes*, or the Citys of *Ephesus* and *Mitylene*. Let them extol or *Corinth* that commands two Seas; or *Thebes* high-honor'd by the Birth of *Bacchus*; or *Delphos* for *Apollo's* Oracles renown'd, or the delicious Vales of *Tempe* rich Ornament of *Thessaly*.

Some there are whose Muse is constantly employ'd in singing the Citadel of *Athens* sacred to chaste *Minerva*. This Field already reap'd by many others produces still new Flow'rs to form poetic Crowns for them.

In short, most of our Bards pay *Juno* all their Homage. They celebrate no other Place in sounding Strains but *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, both by the Protection of this Goddess honor'd, both great in Fame, this for it's Opulence and that for generous Steeds.

As for Me, I am with *Tivoli's* delightful Shades enchanted, and it's beauteous Orchards by a thousand shifting Streams divided. I joy to hear *Albula* roll with mighty Noise her sulphurous Waters from the Mountain's Height, and rapid *Teverone* precipitate his numberless Cascades from Steep to Steep. *Sparta* so commended for the Patience of it's Citizens, and *Larissa* for it's fertil Pasturage present nothing to my Taſt ſo agreeable as this ſoft Scene of Solitude. * * *

the Conclusion. After a long and pompous Enumeration of the moſt charming Citys and moſt agreeable Countrys of *Greece*, we expect to ſee the ſweet Retreat of *Tivoli* plac'd far above 'em all in a graceful Picture expreſſing it's every Beauty. No

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ſuch

such Matter, there is a very slight and imperfect Sketch of it in three Verses only, and the Reader is surpriz'd to see the Poet abandon him on a sudden just as he begins to enter on the Subject. The old Grammarians, who have transmitted HORACE's Works to Us, apparently perceiv'd this Default; but willing to remedy it increas'd the Evil. They found another of his ODES compos'd of Verses of the same Form, which begins by *Albus ut obscuro*, where *Tibur* is barely nam'd. This was Ground sufficient for them to imagin *that* ODE to be the Remainder of *this*, they were pleas'd with the Discovery, and the Herd of Scribes did not fail to tag 'em together in their Manuscripts. This is not the only Time that they united two Pieces of HORACE in one. We shall see more Examples of that hereafter. But had they imploy'd the least Criticism, they might easily have perceiv'd sensible Differences between the two Pieces of which they form'd *this*. They have nothing in common for the Subject. *Here* the Poet prefers a Country of *Italy* to the Delights of *Greece*; *there* he writes to a Friend under Apprehensions of a Disgrace, and counsils him to cherish his Heart with good Wine like a wise *Epicurean*. In the former there is not even Mention made of *Plancus*, to whom he addresses his Discourse in the latter. I add that from the Union of these two ODES wou'd result disagreeable Repetitions. *Perpetuum carmen* wou'd be soon follow'd by *perpetuo*, and after *uda pomaria*, we shou'd find *uda tempora*. In fine, *Scaliger* and *Heinsius* saw several very ancient Manuscripts, where these two Pieces were intirely separate. All this engages me to re-establish this Partition. Mr. *Dacier*, who has not judg'd proper to do so, offers nothing able to counter-balance the Reasons I am supported by. 'Tis likely HORACE compos'd this Piece soon after *Mæcenas* had gratify'd him with a *Villa* in the Country of the *Sabins*: Or, possibly he made it some Time before, in order to solicit genteely the Liberality of his illustrious Protector.

✧ 5. *Palladis arces.*] I put *arces* instead of *urbem* which is the Reading of the printed Books, and in all appearance the Gloss of a Grammarian. Mine is the Reading of the excellent Manuscript of *Oxford*, and *Lambinus* found it in several others which he consulted. It renders the Expression besides more just. The City of *Athens* honor'd several Divinitys, but the Citadel was only under the Protection of *Minerva*: *Urbem colentes Deos, præsidemque arcis Minervam*, says *Livy* in l. 31. c. 30.

✧ 6. *Carminè perpetuo*] Learned Commentators explain these Words in a more refin'd Manner than I translate them. I respect their Erudition, but think it very useless for the Understanding of HORACE.

✧ 7. *Undique decerptam, &c.*] This Verse has set two eminent Critics together by the Ears. Mr. *Dacier* pretends it shou'd be read after this Manner,

Undique decerptæ frondi præponere olivam;
that is, *to prefer the Olive to other Trees.* He adds that all other Explications to him appear puerile and ridiculous. Dr. *Bentley* pays as little Compliment to Mr. *Dacier's* Sentiment, and returns him Censure for Censure. I never, says he, saw any thing more insipid, not to say more impertinent, *nihil profectò invenisti vidi, ne dicam ineptius.* Thus far then our Critics are nearly equal upon the Article of Abuse. It remains to judg which of them is in the Right, a Point easy to discover. In the first Place, the Reading follow'd by Mr. *Dacier* has all the Air of a modern One. It is not to be found in any one Manuscript, no, nor in a printed Copy before *Erasmus*, the first who presum'd to alter the Text in this Place. Dr. *Bentley*, little us'd to spare the ancient Editions in other Places, respects 'em here. They are all for him. This single Point already forms a strong Prejudice in his Favor. Secondly Mr. *Dacier* produces no Proof of his Sentiment, he requires to be believ'd upon his Word. But is it allowable to change an original Text, receiv'd by all Antiquity, without alledging Reasons for such alteration, especially if

this Text can be explan'd in a good Sense? Dr. Bentley not satisfy'd with citing the Manuscripts, which are all for him, does more, he justifies the Explication he gives to the Text. He proves that *undique decerptam fronti præponere olivam* is nothing else than *ex argumento undequaque exhausto coronam sibi poeticam quærere*, to endeavor to merit the Character of Poet by treating a Subject handled a hundred Times before, to aspire to a Crown, which ev'ry One has already taken his Share of. He shews the Justness of this Expression by the Conformity of this Passage of HORACE with this other of Lucretius,

*Juvatque novos decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,
Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora Musæ.*

He adds that the Poets had different Crowns according to the Difference of the Subjects they treated, and that an Olive-crown was peculiar to them who made Verses in Honor of *Pallas* or the Citadel of *Athens*. In short he shews that *præponere olivam fronti* is not so extraordinary a Manner of speaking as may be imagin'd, and that *Valerius Flaccus* has in the same Sense said *prætexere frondes*. If I am not mistaken, these Proofs are more than sufficient to maintain the ancient Reading and destroy that of Mr. Dacier.

However I have hit upon an Explication of this Passage very different from all hitherto propos'd, and which in my Opinion deserves a no less favorable Reception. I make but a slight Alteration in the ancient Reading I've follow'd in the Text, by substituting *aut* in the Place of *et* at the End of the

6th Verse. 'Tis notorious that the Copyers have often put one of these two Conjunctions in the Room of the other. I imagin then that the long Verse of the fourth Distich has no Relation to *Pallas* or the Citadel of *Athens*, and that the Poet intends there to speak only of the olympic Games. We read in the third Ode of *Pindar* that *Hercules* first brought Wild-olives into *Greece*, with which he planted all the Hills around the Plane where the most famous Games of *Greece* were celebrated; and that to perpetuate the Remembrance of this Present to his Country, he requir'd that for the future the Victors shoul'd be crown'd with Olive-boughs. Those Games are perfectly well figur'd under the Olive-crown, their particular Aim, *olivam*; and there never was a Subject perhaps that so much exercis'd the Poetic Vein, *undique decerptam*. According to this Explication, we must translate: *Others' love to shade their Brows with Olive, which formerly immortalis'd so many Heros at the olympic Games and which so many Poets have extol'd*. In poetic Language to be crown'd with Myrtle is to make Songs of Gallantry; to put a Laurel-crown upon one's Head is to sing warlike Exploits, &c. It was natural for HORACE not to forget the City *Olympia* whilst he was crying up so many other Cities of *Greece* that were not more remarkable.

¶ 12. *Domus Albunæ*] The Source of Rivers and Fountains was properly the House of the Divinity presiding there. *Suidas* and *Laërtius* speak of a Sibyl of *Tivoli* nam'd *Albunea*. 'Tis likely she gave her Name to the Fountain and the Wood that surrounds it.

CARMEN VII.

AD LYDIAM.

Lydiæ exprobrat, quòd juvenem turpi amore implicatum apud se retineat, & ab honestis exercitationibus avocet.

L. I.
Od 8.

LYDIA, dic, per omnes
Te Deos oro, Sybarin
Cur properas amando
Perdere; cur apricum
5 Oderit campum, patiens
Pulveris atque solis?

Cur neque militaris
Inter æquales equitat,
Gallica nec lupatis
10 Temperat ora frenis?
Cur timet flavum Tiberim
Tangere? cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat? neque jam
15 Livida gestat armis
Brachia, sæpè disco,
Sæpè trans finem jaculo
Nobilis expedito?

Quid latet, ut marinæ
20 Filium dicunt Thetidos
Sub lacrymosa Trojæ
Funera; ne virilis
Cultus in cædem & Lycias
Proriperet catervas?

O D E VII.
T O L Y D I A.

The Poet reproaches her for keeping a young Man at her House, and hast'ning his Ruin by the Passion She inspires him with.

TELL me, LYDIA, I by the Gods conjure thee, why art thou in such wond'rous Hast to ruin the young *Sybarite* by inspiring him with too early a Passion? Why does he shun the open Field of *Mars*, at an Age fitted to resist Fatigue, and to support the intense Ardors of the Sun?

Why is he no more seen in the Garb of War curbing the Fury of the hard-mouth'd Courser amid a Troop of Youths of his own Age? Why dares he no longer stem with nervous Strokes the yellow *Tiber's* Torrent? Whence proceeds that Aversion to Wrestling which makes him fly the lubricating Oil with nicer Caution than the Viper's Poison? Whence does he so much dread to sully with a livid Hue the fair Complexion of his Arms by the Violence of wielding the Disc and hurling the Jav'lin, He who has so oft distinguish'd himself for elancing both beyond the farthest Mark?

In a Word, why dost thou masquerade him, as *Thetis* did her Son before the Toils of *Troy*, lest a manly Dress shou'd betray the Hero and urge him forth to the Carnage of *Lycian* Battalions.

REMARKS on ODE VII.

THIS ODE at first Sight seems one continu'd Moral on Occasion of *Lydia's* debauching a young Man: But it is at Bottom a sly Censure, which we are led to discover by the Favor of a Comparifon, the Application whereof is natural, and contains a most severe Stroke of Satyr againft *Lydia*.

Doutlefs I fhall be judg'd to have made a very bold Innovation here, and fome Men, prejudic'd in Favor of the Custom they were educated in, will find Difficulty in pardoning me. I have broke the Distichs which compos'd this Piece, and I have distributed them into as many Strophes of three Verses each. I was content in 1717 with propofing this Change, which a * new Commentator adopted three Years after. I explain'd the Reasons for it at large in my Treatise of *the latin Versification*. It will fuffice to fay here in a few Words that the Partition I make introduces nothing new, but that the One which has hitherto appear'd in the Editions is not fo ancient as is imagin'd. According to my Distribution, the third Verse which terminates every Strophe is altogether like the first, *cur properas amando* contains precisely the fame Number and the fame Quality of Measures as *Lydia dic per omnes*, and the one is justify'd exactly by the other. As for the second Verse, I content myself with citing the Examples of *Terentianus Maurus*, *syllabam sex posse dari*, which differs in nothing from this, *te Deos oro Sybarin*. HORACE and *Terentian* have in this follow'd the greek Poets *Eupolis*, *Aristophanes* and *Euphoriion*, who have left Us feveral Verses of this Form. Thus the two short Verses produc'd by my Division are authoris'd in greek and latin Poetry, which cannot

* *John du Hamel.*

be affirm'd of the long Verse *te Deos oro Sybarin cur
properas amando*, such as it appears in the Editions.
No ancient Poet has left Us any of the same Form,
and it appears no where but in this Piece of HO-
RACE, where I contest the Place it has hitherto oc-
cupy'd. I have elsewhere prov'd by the Variation of
Manuscripts that the Copyers, to write the faster or to
wast less Paper, have sometimes written two or three
short Verses all together in the same Line, as if they
made but one of them. If then there is Singularity
somewhere, it is all in the common Sentiment, from
which I depart, in order to restore the Verses to their
primitive Distribution, that is to say, to that observ'd
by the ancient Poets in the Composition of their
Works.

‡ 2. *Sybarin.*] i. e. *Sybaritam*. HORACE speaks
in another Place of a young Man nam'd *Calais* the
Son of *Ornytus* of the Country of the *Thurians* in the
Extremity of *Lucania*, *Thurini Calais filius Ornyti*,
and says that he lov'd *Lydia* and was belov'd by her.
As the ancient Town of *Sibaris* was in this Coun-
try upon the Gulf of *Tarentum*, HORACE with-
out naming him is contented with pointing him out
by his patronymic Name, to shew he knew him per-
fectly well.

‡ 20. *Filium Thetidos.*] These last Verses artfully
discover the true Drift of the Poet, by letting Us
know that *Lydia* kept young *Calais* at her House tra-
vested in the Habit of a Girl.

‡ 21.] *Trojæ funere.*] By these Words we must un-
derstand the Losses the *Greeks* and *Trojans* sustain'd
during the whole Course of the *trojan* War. This
Explication, which is *Torrentius's*, overthrows the Cri-
ticism of *Scaliger*, and to me appears preferable to
what other Commentators have say'd upon this Place,

C A R M E N VIII.

Ab A. U. C. DCCXII. ad
A. DCCXVIII.

In quemdam, qui è servo tribunus militum effectus,
triumviralis classis parti erat præficiendus.

L. 5.
Od. 4.

LUPIS & agnis quanta fortitò obtigit,
Tecum mihi discordia est,
Ibericis peruste funibus latus,
Et crura durâ compeде.

5 Licet superbus ambules pecuniâ,
Fortuna non mutat genus.

Videsne, facram metiente te viam
Cum bis trium ulnarum togâ,
Ut ora vertat huc & huc euntium
10 Liberrima indignatio ?

Señtus flagellis hic triumphalibus
Præconis ad fastidium,
Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera,
Et Appiam mannis terit ?
15 Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques,
Othone contempto, sedet ?

Quid adinet tot rostra navium gravi
Ærata duci pondere
Contra latrones atque servilem manum,
20 Hoc, hoc tribuno militum ?

REMARKS

O D E VIII.

Against a Slave rais'd to the Honor of military Tribune, who was to command a Squadron under the *Triumvirs*.

FLAGRANT Slave, who on thy cicatris'd Back dost still retain the Marks of *spanish* Whiplash, and whose Legs are incircled with livid Characters of galling Girdles; Nature between Wolves and Lambs has not fix'd a stronger Antipathy, than what I feel for thee.

Proud of thy Riches, in vain dost thou assume an Air of Grandeur; Fortune may gild but cannot change thy birth.

When thou in strutting State dost sweep the *sacred Way* with a Gown full six Ells deep, dost thou not note how passing Tribes avert their Eyes infected by thy Presence, and without Reserve give Vent to their just Indignation?

This scandal of the Jails, say they, who but the other Day pass'd thro' the Hands of the *Triumvirs*, who in the common Streets with Whips was mangled, 'till the public Cryer was out of Breath with declaring his Crime, now forsooth possesses a thousand Acres of Land in the Country of *Falernum*, crouds the Highroads with his Equipages, tares up the Pavement with his Chariots, and at publick Shews, in contempt of the Laws, usurps one of the first Places in the Rank of the most distinguish'd Knights!

Is it not ridiculous to equip at vast Expence a numerous Fleet against a Handful of Slaves and Corsairs, whilst this Corsair, this Slave is to command the free-born *roman* Legions that are to chase 'em.

REMARKS on ODE VIII.

AN excellent Poet is always to be rever'd. His Esteem and his Hatred shou'd not be indiff'rent to Persons careful of their Reputation. With the same Pen he immortalises the Glory of the Hero and the Infamy of the Scoundrel. As long as HORACE's Works subsist, the Universe will resound the Praises of *Augustus*, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*; but *Canidia* will be known only by her Sorcerys, *Mævius* by his Nastiness, *Cassius Severus* by his slanderous Accusations, and *Cassius* of *Nomentum* by his Debaucherys. To these latter I shou'd add *Menas* or *Menodorus*, were it not clearly demonstrable from History, notwithstanding the almost unanimous Opinion of all the Interpreters, that he cou'd not possibly be the Object of HORACE's Censure in this ODE. Who ever the Fellow intended was, the Poet had the Advantage of being the Interpreter of the Sentiments of the Public, and revenging it on the outrageous Contents of a Coxcomb grown insolent by the Favors of blind Fortune. This Piece is intirely in the Taste of violent Satire, that bites and tares without Mercy. The Gall of Indignation flows thro' all the Lines, which are no less nervous in the Cadences than acrimonious in the Expressions. From the 19th Verse 'tis probable it was written between 712 and 718.

‡ 8. *Cum bis trium ulnarum togâ.*] This Person being a military Tribune had consequently a Right of wearing the *laticlavian Tunic*. Thus able Commentators have understood this Passage, no Way suitably to the Text. HORACE speaks of the *Toga* and not of the *Tunic*; now there being no Mention made by any Author of *Toga laticlavia*, his Meaning is, that this Slave not only wore the *laticlavian Tunic*, like the Tribunes, but distinguish'd himself even from them by the boundless length of his *Toga*, which inflam'd the public Indignation the more against him.

‡ 15. *Magnus eques.*] To understand this we must distinguish two sorts of *roman* Knights, those by Birth, and those advanc'd to that Dignity. HORACE says *magnus eques*, as *Pliny*, *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Tacitus* say *eques illustris*, *spendicus*, *speciosus*, speaking of Knights by Birth: for this Slave, tho' rais'd to the equestrian Dignity by Favor, had the Insolence in contempt of *Otho's* Law to thrust himself into the first of the fourteen Seats of the *Circus*, where the former alone by that Law had the Prerogative of sitting, *quasi esset magnus eques*. The Tribunes had no Right of sitting on the Benches of the Knights. The *Scholiast* is the only Person who ever thought fit to grant 'em that Privilege; but he is mistaken and has deceiv'd other Commentators.

‡ 17. *Rostra navium ærata.*] The old unintelligible Reading is *ora navium rostrata*, which at the best is a Pleonasm and is as much as to say *rostra rostrata*. Dr. *Bentley* wou'd have Us read *æra rostrata*, and *Cuningham* proposes only to change *ora* into *oro*. The Critics may decide which is the best of our three Corrections.

‡ 19. *Contra latrones, &c.*] This can only fall on young *Pompey*, who after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius* got together all the Slaves and Corsairs he cou'd, to swell the Number of his Troops.

This Passage proves against Mr. *Dacier* that this ODE cou'd not have been made but some Months before the Battle of *Milazzo*, which was fought in 718. *Octavian* had actually in his Fleet twenty thousand Slaves, whom he had manumis'd, *viginti servorum millia manu misit*, says *Suetonius*, & *ad remum dedit*. HORACE was then beginning to gain the good Graces of the Prince and the first Minister. Wou'd not he have been the most imprudent Man in the World to call *Pompey's* Troops a Crew of Slaves and Pirates, at a Time when the same Reproach might have been retorted on *Octavian*?

‡ 20. *Tri-*

† 20. *Tribuno militum.*] Probably this Freedman was made military Tribune, *roman* Knight, and Commander of some Squadron of the Republic during the Trium-

CARMEN IX.

AD VARUM.

Miseram esse abstemiorum vitam, ebriosorum miseriorum.

L. 1.
O. 18.

NULLAM, Vare, sacrâ vite prius severis
arbores
Circa mite solum Tiburis, & mœnia Catili.

Siccis omnia nam dura Deus proposuit : neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.

5 Quis post vina gravem militiam, aut pauperiem
crepat ?

Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens
Venus ?

At ne quis modici transfiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata : monet Sithoniis non levis Erys ;

10 Quum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi.—Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiâ ; nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam.—Sæva tene cum Berecynthiâ.

Triumvirat of *Octavian*, *Antony* and *Lepidus*. I conjecture he might have belong'd to the latter, who during some Part of the Triumvirat commanded the *african* Fleet.

O D E IX.
To VARUS.

That they who don't drink Wine are wretched, but
much more so they who drink to Excess.

INVITED by the mellow Soil, my VARUS, thou in
the Parts to *Tivoli* and *Catilus* adjacent art resolv'd
to plant. Be thy first Care to propagate the Vine.
This sacred Tree to others clames high Preference.

"LET the Wretch who loves not Wine expect from
BACCHUS the severest Treatment." Wine is the
only Cordial to dispel the Cares that prey upon the
Sober.

Fir'd by the Vapors of a sweet Debauch the jolly
Toper sings the Bounty of the God of Wine, and the
Charms of the Queen of Love. He talks not of the
Toils of War, nor the Rigors of Poverty.

But in the Usage of his Gifts the animating God
exacta a moderate Freedom. To what Excesses did he
not abandon the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs*, when they
with Blood polluted the Nuptials of *Pirithous* amid
the Feast? To what dire Lengths does he push his
Resentment against the *Thracians*? Plung'd in De-
baucherys they know of Right and Wrong no other
Measure but their own insatiate Lusts.

Divine God of the Grape, I never will profanely
thus abuse thy Favors. I make this Protestation with
that Sincerity of Heart thou dost so highly prize.
Never will I with sacrilegious Hand thy Statues from
their Place remove, thee unconsenting. Nor will I to
open Day expose those mysterious Symbols, which
thy sacred Baskets under various Leaves conceal.

Cornu tympana, quæ subsequitur cæcus Amor sui,
 15 Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem,
 Arcanique Fides prodiga, pellucidior vitro.

REMARKS on ODE IX.

Morality is the Ground-work of this Piece. The Poet therein recommends the moderate Use of Wine. But what is remarkable, when he begins to speak of the Disorders produc'd by the Excess of this Liquor, his Imagination suddenly heated transports him into a Kind of poetic Disorder peculiar to *Dithyrambic*. Thence those strong Ideas, those figurative Expressions, that broken unconnected Stile. Thus the Difference of the two Characters which divide this ODE constitutes one of it's greatest Beautys. The Transition from the One to the other is natural and well conducted.

‡ 3. *Proposuit*.] Don't we fancy we see *Bacchus* proposing to Mankind a Choice of the last Importance? *Drink Wine*, says he, *or expect the roughest Treatment*. Such is the Force of the Verb *proposuit*, which makes the principal Beauty of this Passage.

‡ 7. *Ne quis modici*, &c.] That is to say, according to *Rodellius*, *ne quisquam mediocritatis terminos bibendo transfiliat*. HORACE calls *Bacchus* here *modicus*, which most Persons explaine *sober*, *reserv'd*. He gives him elsewhere the Epithet *inverecundus*, which signifys an Enemy to all Reservedness. We must necessarily grant one of these three Things, either that HORACE contradicts himself; or that his Commentators have not understood him; or that one of the two Texts is defective. The first wou'd be injurious to so great a Poet; the last cannot be prov'd; the Interpreters therefore are mistaken. When the Poet says *ne quis modici transfiliat munera Liberi*, he simply means *ne quis in Bacchi muneribus transfiliat modum*, *ne quis imma-*

But then thy Vengeance let me never prove. From hence keep far th' intoxicating Din of thy Cornets and Cymbals attended still by Self-love ever blind, light-headed Vanity usurping Reason's Throne, and tell-tale Indiscretion than Chrystal more transparent.

immodicè bibat, that no one drink to Excess. *Modicus* has here it's natural and ordinary Signification of *Exiguus*. But it may be say'd, the same God is call'd *Verecundus* in another ODE, which seems to determin *Modicus* in this Place to the Sense the Interpreters give it. When we come to the ODE *natis in usum*, it will be seen that this Objection has not so much Force as might be imagin'd.

§ 11. *Avidi.*] *Immoderate, insatiable*, and this is the Reason why the *Thracians* in their Debauches know no other Rule of Good and Evil but their own Passions, which make but small Difference between the two. The Construction therefore of this Passage is: *quia sunt avidi, ideo fas atque nefas discernunt exiguò sine libidinum.*

Non ego te, &c.] This Sally of the Poet is admirable; but sudden as it is, it does not transport him out of his Subject. He promises *Bacchus* to practise the Moderation he recommends to others, and at the same Time beseeches him not to abandon him to the Vices with which he afflicts those who by a sacrilegious Abuse profane his Benefits

Bassareu.] One of the Names of *Bacchus*, for which they fetch Us several Originals. Some trace it even as far back as the Hebrew; but those Commentators, who refer Us incessantly to this Tongue, deserve as little Credit in this Point, as when they resolve in spite of Nature to find the Source of all Fables in the Books of *Moses*. What they have said most reasonable, is that *Bacchus* was call'd *Bassareus* from a City of *Lydia* nam'd *Bassara*, or from those fierce Animals which drew his Car call'd, as *Herodotus* reports, *Bassarìa*.

CARMEN X.

AD AMICUM.

Vitæ molestias vino, cantu, & amicorum adloquiis
esse mitigandas.

L. 5.
O. 13.

HORRIDA tempestas cælum contraxit ; &
imbres

Nivesque deducunt Jovem :

Nunc mare, nunc fyliæ

Threïcio Aquilone sonant. Rapiamus, amice,

5 Occasionem de die ;

Dumque virent genua,

Et decet, obductâ solvatur fronte fenestus.

Tu vina Torquato move

Consule pressa meo.

10 Cætera mitte loqui : Deus hæc fortasse benignâ

Reducet in sedem vice.

Nunc & Achæmenio

Perfundi nardo juvat, & fide Cylleneâ

Levare duris pectora

15 Solitudinibus :

Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno :

Inviçte, mortalis Deâ

Nate puer Thetide,

Te manet Aflaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi

20 Findunt Scamandri flumina,

Lubricus & Simois :

Unde tibi reditum curto subtemine Parcæ

Rupere ; nec mater domum

Cærule te revehet.

Illic

O D E X.

To one of his FRIENDS.

That the Bottle, Music and Friends are pow'rful Reliefs from the Anxiety of Care.

WHAT a dreadful Season this ! Sable Clouds involve the Skys and ravish from our Sight the shrinking Day, *JOVE* descends in Rain and Snow, Storms thunder, Billows roar and Woods resound. Oh ! the charming Opportunity, my Friend, t'indulge our Genius ; let Us seize it, let Us improve the gloomy Hour. We are still green and gay, and Pleasures in Youth are graceful. Far from our Society drive anxious Cares, Old Age with wrinkled Front will in his Retinue bring Legions of 'em but *too soon*.

Instant order forth the gen'rous Juice cellar'd the Year of my Nativity in the Consulat of *Torquatus*, push the lazy Bottle round, and dwell no longer on that splenetic Topic. 'Tis to be hop'd the Gods by a benign Vicissitude will re-establish Matters on a happier Footing.

Let Us devote this Day to Jollity, let Us perfume our Temples with the choicest Essence, and by the soothing Accents of the Lyre purge from our drooping Souls superfluous Care.

Such Counsil in poetic Strains the noble *Centaur* once imparted to his grand Disciple :

“ My victorious Boy, tho' of a Goddess born thou to Mortality are subject like all other Men. Thy fatal Thread promises a Race of Life for Glory more than Lenth remarkable. The *Destinys* have fix'd the Period of thy Days in the Planes of *Troas* by cold *Scamander* water'd and impetuous *Simois*. In vain shall *Thetis* send her Waves to bear thee back to *Greece*.

But

25 Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato
Deformis agrimonizæ, ac
Dulcibus adloquiis.

REMARKS on ODE X.

ONE of HORACE's Friends had probably receiv'd some bad News which interested his Fortune. Our Poet imploy's his Muse to console him. He counsils him to sweeten his Cares with Pleasures, ordinary Resourse of the *epicurean* Philosophy, and to give the greater Authority to his Moral, he puts it in the Mouth of *Chiron* the *Centaur*, who utters his Maxims to young *Achilles* with as serious an Air as if he were pronouncing the Oracles of Wisdom itself. This Turn is pleasant and ingenious, well chosen and nicely conducted. I doubt whether the gravest Precepts of the *stoical School* cou'd have been imploy'd so à propos.

¶ 4. *Rapiamus, amice, occasionem de die.*] Opportunitys of Pleasure pass swiftly, we must greedily seize 'em, or they'l escape us. Such is the Force of this Expression, which very well marks the Rapidity of Time and the Attention we shou'd use to improve it. An *Epicurean* finds a rainy, snowy or stormy Day a real Occasion for his Diversion.

¶ 7. *Obductâ solvatur fronte senectus.*] HORACE says, *senectus, quæ est obductâ fronte, solvatur*, instead of *frons obducta, qualis est senectutis, solvatur*, where we see that *frons obducta* signifys *tristitia*, and that *solvatur* signifys *amandetur*. I think this the most natural Sense of this Passage. Those who are vers'd in the Language of the Poets know such Transitions are very familiar to them. Some take *senectus* for *tristitia* as it sometimes signifys : but I find that Explication forc'd in

But yet, let not thy noble Courage be cast down ;
When on the *phrygian* Coasts arriv'd live like a Man
who soon must dye ; ease the Sickness of thy Soul by
the Joys of Wine and Music, and the sweet Converſe
of Friendſhip. Theſe are the ſov'rein Antidotes
againſt *Melancholy* fell Ravisher of Health and Beauty.

in this Place. After *virent genua*, which denotes Youth, *ſenectus* can mean nothing but Old-Age, and it wou'd have been a Fault in HORACE, had he intended to attach another Idea to this Word by uſing it in a *metaphoric* Senſe.

‡ 10. *Cætera*.] Ev'ry Thing that is not proper to cheriſh good Humor, ev'ry Thing that can trouble our Pleaſure

‡ 17. *Inviſte*.] The Conſtruction is *Inviſte puer, qui mortalis natus eſt, matre quamvis immortalis*.

‡ 22. *Curto*.] This Correſtion which changes but a ſingle Letter, is in my Mind one of the happyeſt the Criticiſm of Dr. Bentley has produc'd. What can be the Meaning of the former Reading *Parcæ tibi reditum rupere certo ſubtemine*? The Conſtruction is very bad or at leaſt ambiguous. If the Fates had granted *Achilles* a happy Return, HORACE might have equally ſaid, *Parcæ tibi reditum duxere certo ſubtemine*. In ſhort this Epithet is too general, and does not well aſſort with the Verb *rumpere*. But in ſaying, *Parcæ tibi reditum rupere curto ſubtemine*, his Phraſe is free from all Perplexity, and his Thought perfectly clear. The Deſtinys obſtruct *Achilles's* Return, *quia curtum eſt ſubtemen*, becauſe the Thread of his Life is found too ſhort to furniſh him Time for it. What favors this Conjeſture, is that the Copyers have frequently quarrel'd with this Word *Curtus*, and ſometimes traſteſt it in *curvus* and ſometimes in *Cervus*, as *Nic. Heinfius* has obſerv'd in his Notes upon *Ovid*.

‡ 26. *Ac*.] Correſtneſs of Language neceſſarily demands this Particle. In vain does Mr. *Dacier* ſay that
adloquium

adloquium and *adloquutio* signify *Consolation*, no body doubts it, and that's not the Question here. What he shou'd, and what he never can prove, is that the *Latins* have sometimes apply'd these Words to Sicknefs, and not only to a sick Person, and that they have said
adlo-

C A R M E N XI. D I T H Y R A M B U S.

L. 2.
O. 19. **B**ACCHUM in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem (credite posteri)
Nymphasque discentes, & aures
Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.

5 Evæ ! recenti mens trepidat metu,
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Lætatur. Evæ ! parce, Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyrsos.

Fas pervicaces sit mihi Thyiadas,
10 Vinique fontem, lactis & uberes
Cantare rivos, atque truncis
Lapsa cavis iterare mella :

Fas & beatæ conjugis additum
Stellis honorem, tectaque Penthei
15 Disjecta non leni ruina,
Thracis & exitium Lycurgi.

adloquium or *adloquutio ægritudinis*. Without proving this, the Ridicule, with which he qualifys Dr. Bentley's Explication which I have follow'd, will only fall upon his own.

O D E XI.

A DITHYRAMBIC O D E.

I SAW BACCHUS.—Let future Ages dread to doubt it.—Yes—I saw him dictating Verses in private amid a Group of Rocks. The *Nymphs* listen'd with Docility, and the *Satyrs* prick'd up their Ears that they might not lose a Word of his sacred Lessons.

I saw him, I see him still Holo *Bacchus!* What Enthusiasm shakes my Soul with a holy Horror! My Heart full of the Divinity feels the sudden Sallys of a confus'd Joy. Holo!—Great God, pardon my Temerity, spare thy wonted Rage, weigh me not down beneath thy pond'rous Hand arm'd with thy formidable *Thyrsus*.

Suffer me to sing the fiery Transports of thy raving Priestesses, to renew in my Verses those Prodigys of thy Power that startled Nature, Founts of Wine and Floods of Milk bursting from Veins of Rocks and Honey sweating thro' the Pores of Oak.

Now, whilst my Spirit glows with heav'nly Ardor, permit me to depaint the blazing Circlet of thy happy Comfort *Ariadne*, this new Constellation, the Glory of the Skys, which sheds a Lustre equal to the most brilliant Stars; the Palace of the unhallow'd *Theban* overturn'd by a distinguishing Stroke of thy Fury; and the terrifying Death of fierce *Lycurgus*.

Thou

Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum ;
 Tu separatis uvidus in jugis
 Nodo coerces viperino
 20 Bistonidum sine fraude crines.

Tu, quum parentis regna per arduum
 Cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
 Rhætum retorristi leonis
 Unguibus, horribilique malâ :
 25 Quamquam, chorêis aptior & joci
 Ludoque dictus, non sat idoneus
 Pugnae ferebaris, sed idem
 Pacis eras mediusque belli.
 Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
 30 Cornu decorum, leniter adterens
 Caudam ; & recedentis trilingui
 Ore pedes tetigitque crura.

REMARKS on ODE XI.

HORACE is no where more a Poet than in this ODE ; he has no where united more Elevation in the Ideas, more Strength in the Sentiments, more Variety in the Turns. Seiz'd with a *bacchic* Enthusiasm, 'tis no more the Poet who thinks or speaks ; 'tis the God of Poetry himself who inspires his Soul and usurps his Organs.

Some Festival of *Bacchus* probably excited his Idea of this ODE, which is really a Master-piece. The Praises of that God are complete, and judiciously kept up. On ev'ry Part of the Creation he has impress'd the Marks of his Divinity. Heav'n, Earth, Sea and Hell have all felt the Effects of his Power, and HORACE has collected all these Monuments to furnish out an immortal Trophy to his Honor.

† I. BACCHUM, &c.] This Beginning is truly sublime ; it is a Picture capable of striking and filling the Imagi-

Thou dost the swelling Streams command, and instant they obey. Seas discontiguous confess thy Pow'r. Flush'd with the Fumes of thy own potent Liquor Thou dost the frantic Rout of *Bacchanals* transport by Paths unknown to the Summit of the steepest Hills, and interlace their dangling Hair with hideous Vipers who harmless lick each drunken Head.

Bent to dethrone thy Sire the giant Brood dar'd to assail his Heav'n: Thou singly didst his Crown secure; wrapt in a Lion's Form thou didst with worrying Teeth and pointed Claws rebuff audacious *Rhætus*.

Till then—thy mighty Godhead was asperst, as only fit for Gambols, Drollery and amorous Intrigue; but having felt thy Fury they own'd thee form'd no less for military Prowess than the soft Joys of Peace.

When deckt with golden Horns Thou didst to Hell descend, *Cerberus* at once forgot his Rage, crept gently on the Ground and fondly wag'd his Tail to give thee Welcome; and at thy Departure, couch'd at thy Feet and loll'd his fawning Tongue.

Imagination by the natural Mixture of the *Rural* and the *Majestic*.

‡ 5. *Trepidat.*] That is *commovetur, agitur*. These Agitations are as it were the first Fits of Enthusiasm that seize the Poet upon the bare Recollection of what he had seen.

‡ 7. *Parce.*] He imagins he sees the God ready to strike him with his *Thyrus*, for daring to unveil his venerable Mysterys; he begs Pardon for his Temerity, and calms his Rage by the most soothing Praises.

‡ 9. *Sit mihi.*] The Turn of the Discourse and the Series of the Thoughts demand this Correction, which I have follow'd Dr. *Bentley* in. From the sixth Verse to the End of the Piece HORACE addresses his Words to *Bacchus*. *Fas est* wou'd therefore make a very disagreeable Interruption, by an impertinent Digression. Besides it does not appear natural, that the very Moment the Poet begs Pardon of the God for his

Imprudence, he shou'd affront him again by his Presumption. Decency exacts of him not to continue his Subject till he has ask'd Leave. In short *pervicaces est* has a bad Effect, I think, in a Verse. All this gives me Room to believe that the ordinary Reading is not HORACE's, and that it was necessary to reform it.

Thyiadas.] *Velius Longus* has preserv'd this Orthography to *Us*, which the Etymologists authorise, says *Torrentius*. In short 'tis follow'd by many great Critics.

Horace distributes as it were this Elogy of *Bacchus* into three Parts. The first comprises his Benefits, the second his Vengeances, and the third his Exploits.

¶ 17. *Tu flectis amnes.*] Mr. *Dacier* has very judiciously observ'd the Beauty of this *Apostrophe*, in changing the Turn of the two preceding *Stanzas*, which cou'd not but tire, if HORACE had continued in the same Tone. But this Address is still more sensible, and

C A R M E N XII.
A D M E R C U R I U M
H Y M N U S.

L. 1.
O. 10.

MERCURI, facunde nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formasti cautus et decoræ
More palæstræ:

5 Te canam magni Jovis ac Deorum
Nuncium, curvæque lyræ parentem,
Callidum quidquid placuit jocosum
Condere furto.

Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
10 Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ
Risit Apollo.

Quin

and acquires a new Grace by reading as I do *fas sit* in the ninth Verse, instead of *fas est*. The Poet, after asking the God's Permission to sing his Favors and his Vengeances, takes Courage at once to sing his Exploits without asking his Leave.

¶ 18. Uvidus.] As *Uva* is sometimes us'd for Wine, so also is *Uvidus* for *ebrius*. Sometimes it signifies only *humidus, madidus*.

¶ 25. *Quamquam choreis aptior, &c.*] I cannot dissemble but that the Character of this Piece requir'd more Force and Elevation than can be found in these two last *Strophes*. This is a Fault HORACE has not always sufficiently guarded against. The great Beautys we find in him challenge some Favor for his Blemishes: but that Prejudice of Commentators, which makes them excuse every Thing, cannot but draw on them our Scorn and Indignation.

O D E XII.

A H Y M N

IN HONOR OF MERCURY.

GRANDSON of *Atlas*, divine *Mercury*, Thou art the Subject of my Song. By thy smooth Eloquence, by thy charming Instructions, and by Exercises adapted to inspire Grace and Vigor to the Body, Thou didst the savage Manners of early Men sagaciously refine.

Thou art *Jove's* Envoy, the Interpreter of the Gods, the Inventor of the *Lyre*, and when in merry Mood thou art dispos'd to make Things vanish by the Slight of Hand, nothing can escape thy Ingenuity.

This can *Apollo* witness, for one Day when Thou, as yet a Child, out of their Pasture flyly didst remove some Cows committed to his Care, he thought to intimidate thy tender Mind by threat'ning, if Thou

Quin & Atridas, duce te, superbos
 Illo dives Priamus relictâ,
 15 Thessalosque ignes, & iniqua Trojæ
 Castra fefellit.

Tu pias lætis animas reponis
 Sedibus, virgâque levem coerces
 Aureâ turbam, superis Deorum
 20 Gratus & imis.

REMARKS on ODE XII.

THIS ODE contains nothing very remarkable. The Stile is rais'd a little above the middle Kind, the Expression is simple and elegant, and the Versification is smooth and harmonious, except in the first, sixth and eighteenth Verses, whose Cadence is rough and rather *greek* than *latin*. It is probable this Hymn was sung at one of the Feasts of *Mercury*.

As Mr. *Dacier* discovers MOSES in BACCHUS, so he finds out both MOSES and CANAAN in MERCURY; and his Notes upon this and the preceding ODE are a continu'd Parallel of the two profane Divinitys with the two old Patriarchs, as if the latter had serv'd Idolaters for a Model to imagin the former on. His Works are full of such Allusions, which I apprehend not only void of Solidity, but also dang'rous in their Consequences. From *Abraham* to *Moses*, that is for four Ages, Idolatry had so spread over the World, that no People were free from it except the *Hebrews*. How then cou'd these Idolaters have imbib'd their Fables from the Books of the *jewish* Legislator not yet in Being? Besides *Cadmus* and *Danais* transported a *Phœ-*
nician

Ode XII. HORACE'S ODES.

57

wou'dst not bring 'em back, that He———but a
Burst of Laughter cut short his Speech, and intercepted
his Menaces, when pleas'd he found that 'Thou by
clean Conveyance hadst stript him of his Quiver too.

Nor is thy Pow'r confin'd to Subtiltys of pure Di-
version. Under thy safe Conduct hoary *Priam*, charg'd
with num'rous Presents, ventur'd out of *Troy*, deceiv'd
the Vigilance of the haughty Sons of *Atreus*, and tra-
vers'd the hostile Camp unseen, maugre the Sentinels
that garded it, and the Fires with which it was illu-
min'd.

In fine, 'Thou dost put the Souls of the Pious in
Possession of *Elysium*, and with thy golden Scepter dost
assemble flitting Ghosts, an Office that renders thee
equally a Fav'rit of the Powers of Heav'n and Hell.

nician Colony into *Greece* before the Epoch of the De-
parture from *Aegypt*: The Gods which they brought
from *Asia* cou'd not therefore be Symbols of *Moses*. In
short, is it credible that the *Romans*, who look'd upon
the *Jews* with the utmost Contemt, shou'd chuse to
adopt any of their Opinions? This Conjecture then is
not so much as barely probable. I add that it may be
very prejudicial to the Christian Religion. An Infidel
will reverse the Reas'ning, and say that our Mysterys
have been imagin'd upon *pagan* Superstitions, as we
have some Ceremonys which the *Greeks* and *Romans*
had before Us. Thus from the Absurdity found in
the fabulous System, he will believe himself in the
Right to conclude the Falsity of the Christian Re-
ligion.

¶ 9. *Te boves olim, &c.*] These two Actions pass'd
at different Times; but the Poet by uniting them gives
them a Turn of Spritelyness and Humor which in-
liven his Subject.

¶ 13. *Quin & Atridas, &c.*] After a Scene of
Mirth he opens a Scene of War, and pleases his Reader
with Variety,

CARMEN XIII.

AD TORQUATUM.

Illum, propositâ mortis necessitate, ad hilariter jucundèque vivendum invitat.

L. 4.
Od. 7.

DIFFUGERE nives : redeunt jam gramina
campis,

Arboribusque comæ :

Mutat terra vices ; & decrefcentia ripas

Flumina præter eunt :

5 Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.

Immortalia ne speres monet annus, & alnum

Quæ rapit hora diem.

Frigora mitescunt Zephyris : ver proterit æstas,

10 Interitura, simul

Pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit : & mox

Bruma recurrit iners.

Damna tamen celeres reparant cœlestia lunæ :

Nos ubi decidimus

15 Quò pius Æneas, quò Tullus dives, & Ancus,
Pulvis & umbra sumus.

Quis scit an adjiciant hodiernæ crastina summæ

Tempora Dî superi ?

Cuncta manus avidas fugient hæredis, amico

20 Quæ dederis animo.

Quam semel occideris, & de te splendida Minos

Fecerit arbitria ;

Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas.

Infernis

O D E XIII.
T O T O R Q U A T U S.

He lays before him the Necessity of Death, to ingage
him to enjoy Life.

THE dissolv'd Snows at lenth are lost in sudden
Torrents, the Fields resume their vivid Verdure,
the Trees are with their Foliage deckt, the Earth wears
a new Face, subsiding Rivers glide along their Banks,
the Sister-graces negligently drefs'd now dance in open
Air conjoin'd with mingling Nymphs.

The circling Years, the winged Hours, which rob
Us of our brightest Days, warn Us not to hope an Im-
mortality.

The rigid Hoar-frosts melt before the tepid Zephyrs ;
the turning Spring flies Summer's ardent Look, who
must resign his hot Dominion, when Autumn comes
jovial on, loaden with delicious Fruits, profusely
pouring for a Time his immeasurable Stores around,
till old Winter, indolent as he is, quickly subdues him
and reigns again tremendous.

But still the posting Moon repairs these Losses by
bringing back the Round of Seasons yearly in successive
Order. Man alone perishes never to rise again. When
once We descend to pious *Aeneas*, rich *Tullus* and va-
liant *Ancus*, We are no more than Dust and Shade,
and that We are for ever.

Who knows if the kind Gods will add To-morrow
to the Day that now cheers Us with it's Touch :

Of all the Goods, my dear *Torquatus*, You possess,
none will escape your greedy Heirs, but what You
spend upon your Pleasures.

When from the Number of the living Fate shall
cut You off ; when *Minos* with solemn Justice publicly
shall fix your everlasting Doom, there will be no Re-
turn for You ; your high Birth, your Eloquence, your
Virtue will not redeem You from the Grave.

25 Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
 Liberat Hippolytum :
 Nec Lethæa valet Theseus abrumperè charo
 Vincula Pirithoo.

REMARKS on ODE XIII.

THE Subject of this ODE differs from that of *Solvitur acris hyems* only in the Manner of treating it. In *that* the Description of Spring is longer and more graceful, in *this* it is more lively and better apply'd. *There* we cannot perceive the Poet's Design but at the Close of the Piece, *here* it shews itself at the seventh Verse and is carry'd on to the End. The One is enrich'd with more Images, the other better fraught with Morals. Each has it's Value separately, and both together discover the Fertility of a Genius that can copy itself without a Repetition, or rather, that can imitate itself without copying.

¶ 4. *Decrescentia ripas, &c.*] I am surpris'd any Difficulty has been made about the Explication of so easy a Passage. HORACE does not mean that the Rivers overflow their Banks, as the ingenious Person pretends whom Mr. *Dacier* refutes; nor does he precisely mean that they pass their Banks, retiring into their Channels, as *Dacier* understands it. He only says, that being no longer swoln by the melted Snows they begin to flow along their Banks. We shou'd therefore read *præter eunt* in two Words. In short *præter* does not here signify either *ultra* or *intra*, but *juxta*, *prope*, *secundum*. In the same sense *Livy* says, *Philippus maximè idoneum ad muniendum locum credidit esse præter amnem Aëum*; that is, along the River *Aëus*.

¶ 7. *Monet annus.*] This is, as it were, the Proposition, the Proofs of which are deduc'd thro' the whole Remainder of the Piece, where by the sensible Changes

Diana, tho' a Goddess, cannot restore her chaste *Hippolytus* to Life; and in Spite of all the Efforts of *Theseus*, *Pluto* for ever keeps *Pirithöus* in Irons.

Changes we see happen in nature the Poet shews that every Thing is subject to Mortality, and that the Death of Men is without Resource.

¶ 9. *Proterit æstas interitura.*] These figurative Expressions are full of Energy, and have a good Effect especially in lyric Poetry, which permits, which even challenges this Boldness. The Year is the Field of Battel, where the Seasons pursue, fight with and destroy each other. At first victorious, afterwards vanquish'd, they perish successively, and are born again every Year, only to give mutual Death.

¶ 12. *Recurrit iners.*] These two Words which involve a Contraryety of Ideas, make a beautiful Image here, because it is natural. This is the OXUMORON of *Rhetoricians*, who can ingeniously join two Things in Appearance incompatible. HORACE is fond of using this Figure, which awakes the Attention and Admiration of the Readers more successfully than any other, and adds Grace to Discourse, when it is not far-fetch'd, and is plac'd à propos. I have endeavour'd to preserve the same Figure in the Translation. We have already seen Examples of it in *amando perdere*, *vultu risit invito*, *splendide mendax*, *turbidum letatur*; and hereafter we shall see *sevus jocus*, *insaniens sapientia*, *amabilis insania*, *lene tormentum*, *dulce periculum*, &c.

¶ 13. *Damna cœlestia.*] He calls the Vicissitude of the Seasons the Losses of the Heav'n, and it seems he shou'd rather have call'd them the Losses of the Earth, since none but We lose by these Changes. But this is a figurative and poetic Way of speaking, where the Cause is taken for the Subject, and *Damna cœlestia* signifies nothing else but *Damna quæ oriuntur à cælo*, the Losses which Heav'n causes to Us in ravishing

visiting successively the finest Seasons from Us, by the Movement of the Sun that rolls over our Heads.

‡ 15. *Tullus dives.*] Dr. Bentley was probably a Stranger to the Riches of *Tullus*. The Text appear'd to him defective, and to re-establish it he would have Us read *pauper* in the Place of *dives*, or at least to put a Comma after *Tullus* and refer *dives* to *Ancus*. But the express Testimony of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who says, that *Tullus* divided among those who had no Land a part of the Regal Domain; and that of *Juvenal*, when he says,

Pretio majore paratus

Quam fuit & Tulli census, pugnacis & Anci,

demolish the Criticism and Correction of the english Commentator.

‡ 17. *Quis scit, &c.*] Death is a Tribute all Things owe to Fate: Nature publishes this Law thro' all her Works: We shou'd therefore enhance the Value of Life by indulging to Pleasure. This is the Reasoning of *Epicurus*, explan'd by HORACE in the foregoing Verses. He proceeds to a further Motive. We shall dye, says he, sooner than We think; even To-morrow is not in our Power: There is no Time to be lost then, and to procrastinate our Pleasures is to let them escape Us irrevocably, 'tis to part with a present Certainty for a future Uncertainty.

‡ 20. *Amico quæ dederis animo.*] HORACE wou'd have *Torquatus* pass his Time merrily, and make himself his own Heir, *ut animo morem gerat, indulgeat animo, animo obsequatur*, for these Expressions are synonymous to HORACE's, and the Greeks spoke in the same Manner before the *Latins*. The Poet in his Reasoning thro' the whole had a View to these two Verses, which are, as it were, his Conclusion. For want of Attention to this, some have explan'd *amico quæ dederis animo* of Liberality; which Moral wou'd be absolutely misplac'd and destroy the Uniformity of the Piece.

‡ 22. *Quum semel occideris.*] This is not an useless lenth'ning out of the Work, tho' it comes after the Conclusion. The Poet is no more constrain'd to the logical Form of Reas'ning than the Orator. The Conclusion does not always come methodically at the End of the Proofs. HORACE subjoins a new One, which serves to confirm the Conclusion, to wit, that our Death will be without Resource. Neither Nobility, Eloquence, Riches, Piety, Chastity nor Friendship will be able to bring us to Life again.

Splendida arbitria.] There never was a Tribunal whose Judgments were more solemn than that in the infernal Regions, according to the Pagans. It was the Tribunal of the Universe; all Men appear'd there without Distinction, Sentence was pass'd on all the Actions of their Lives, and executed instantly and without Appeal. This is, I think, the Force of the Epithet the Poet uses. The old Interpreter takes *splendida arbitria* for Judgments where Truth is set in it's full Light, where Deceit and Disguise have no Place. This is no bad Sense, but the first to me appears more natural, and the Idea of it is more magnificent.

‡ 23. *Torquate.*] Grandson to *L. Manlius Torquatus*, and not his Son, as Mr. *Dacier* calls him thro' pure Forgetfulness. For he was dead before HORACE meddled with Poetry.

‡ 26. *Hippolytum.*] The vulgar Notions concerning the Return of *Hippolytus*, *Theseus* and others from Hell were laugh'd at by the *Epicureans* who deny'd a Resurrection. HORACE thro' this whole Piece speaks in the Character of one of that Sect.

CARMEN XIV.

AD MÆCENATEM.

Mæcenati, qui se Horatio convivam obtulerat, innuit poeta deteriore illum vino excipiendum, nisi domo generosum adtulerit.

L. 1.
O. 20.

VILE potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græcâ quod ego ipse testâ
Conditum levi; datus in theatro
Quum tibi plausus,
5 Clare Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul & jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago.

Cæcubam & prælo domitam Caleno
10 Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernæ
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.

REMARKS on ODE XIV.

THIS is properly a Letter in Verse; but a Letter, where, in the Number of three short Stanzas, I find all the natural easy Flow of an *in promptu* with all the Spirit and all the Elegance of a Piece digested at Leisure.

† 1. *Vile Sabinum.*] HORACE's Country-house was very ill-situated for a Poet who was not an Enemy to good Wine. The *Sabin* Country was decry'd
1 for

O D E XIV.

TO MÆCENAS.

Mæcenas let *Horace* know he would take a Meal with him. *Horace* insinuates that he must bring his own Provision of Wine with him if he had a Mind to drink what was good.

MÆCENAS Honor of the *Roman* Knight-hood, I give You fair Notice that I have only hungry Wine of *Sabin* Growth to offer You, of which I'm sure You'll drink but soberly. To render it tolerable I tunnd it into Vessels which held *greek* Wine before; and seal'd 'em my self with Care. If any Thing can make me prize it, 'tis that I cellar'd it the very Day that You receiv'd such loud Applauses in the croud'd Theater, the very Day that You heard the Banks of the River of your Ancestors waft back your Praises and the Ecchos of the Vatican wanton with the Sound.

You are at your Liberty to drink Liquor more costly and luxurious; but You know, that as I have not Vineyards either at *Falernum* or *Formiæ*, I cannot correct the Tartness of my own by the Sweetness of those exquisit Wines.

for it's Vineyards, and Wine of so bad a Growth was not fit to be presented to *Mæcenas*, who had been accustom'd to the most delicate Wines of *Greece* and *Italy*. The Poet therefore frankly avows to his illustrious Guest that he had but sorry Wine to give him; and this he does, to dispose him either to be satisfy'd with what he shall find, or to bring better along with him from *Rome*. It appears that *HORACE* was then at his *Villa*, and that *Mæcenas* had

had sent to let him know he wou'd take a Dinner with him in his Way thro' the *Sabin* Country, for had he been at *ROME*, he cou'd among his Friends have easily procur'd some Bottles of good Wine, to regale a Guest of such Consequence.

Modicis.] That is not to say, *You shall drink out of small Cups*, as the Interpreters have translated it; but rather, *You will drink but little, modicè potabis*, because the bad Quality of the Wine will keep You sober in spite of You. We shou'd therefore explaine *modicis cantharis* with Respect to *Vile Sabinum*, which two Words assign a Reason for the other two, and determin 'em to the Sense I have given 'em.

† 2. *Cantharis.*] The Name of *Cantharus* was appropriated to the Cup *Bacchus* us'd to drink out of, from whence we may judg it was good Measure. *Virgil* calls that of *Silenus*, *gravis*, heavy; and *Pliny* reproaches *Marius* with having drunk out of such a Cup after the Battel he won against the *Cimbrians*. All which seems further to favor the Explication I have given to *Modicis*. *HORACE* pleasantly plays upon the Words. *Bibes*, says he, *cantharis, sed modicis*; *You will drink very little in large Cups*.

† 3. *Levi.*] When they tun'd their Wine, they seal'd the earthen Jars with Pitch, Wax, Gum or Parget. *HORACE*'s Vintage did not deserve his personal Care in this Point: but *Mæcnas* having at that Time receiv'd great Applauses in the Theater, *HORACE* did himself a Pleasure in stamping on his Vessels the Monument of so happy a Day. This small Circumstance must have been the more highly pleasing to *Mæcnas*, as he did not expect it. This is the greatest Delicacy in the whole Piece, but not the principal Design of it, as Mr. *Dacier* has imagin'd.

Datus in theatro.] Mr. *Dacier* quotes *HORACE*, to prove that these Acclamations and Shouts of Joy were

were given to *Mæcenas* after a very dang'rous Fit of Sicknefs. I am not of his Opinion, and ſhall give my Reaſons in my Remarks on the ODE *Cur me querelis*, where I will make it appear that HORACE ſays nothing like what Mr. *Dacier* makes him ſay. The Theater he ſpeaks of was *Pompey's* between the *Tiber* and the *quirinal Hill*.

‡ 5. *Paterni fluminis*.] He cou'd not deſign the *Tiber* in a Manner more glorious than in calling it the River of the Anceſtors of *Mæcenas*. This is a fine Trait of Flattery thrown in very *à propos*. The Source of the *Tiber* was in the Country of the *Tuſcans* from whom *Mæcenas* originally ſprung.

‡ 10. *Bibes*.] Muſt We underſtand *apud te*, or *apud me*? Does HORACE ſay to *Mæcenas*, *You may drink excellent Wine at your own Houſe*? Or does he ſay to him, *You may drink ſuch at my Houſe*? Our Poet, and I am perſuaded not without Deſign, was not pleas'd to unveil his Thought. All the Interpreters have run into the firſt Explication, not douting but HORACE meant *bibes apud te*. For my Part I believe *Mæcenas* took the Words in a Senſe quite contrary, and cou'd not naturally underſtand 'em in any other Senſe. My Wine is bad, ſays HORACE to him; however you ſhall be at your Election to drink good Wine: but once again remember I have no ſuch Thing at my Houſe. Is not that to intimate in cover'd Terms, if You chuſe to drink good Wine at my Houſe, have the Goodneſs to bring it with you? We muſt therefore underſtand *apud me*. HORACE intended to let *Mæcenas* unravel the Senſe of his Words, and *Mæcenas* cou'd not miſtake it. Had the Poet pretended to ſay *bibes apud te*, wou'd not that be to tell him, if You chuſe *cæcubian* and *calenian* Wines, You may ſtay at Home, for I have none here to give You. We muſt be Strangers to HORACE to believe him capable of making ſuch a Compliment. In the Epistle *ſi potes Archiacis* he ſends *Torquatus* the ſame Invitation that he does here to *Mæcenas*.

CARMEN XV.

AD SODALES.

Rixas inter convivia prorsus intempestivas esse.

L. 1. **N**ATIS in usum lætitiæ scyphis
O. 27. Pugnare, Thracum est. Tollite barbarum
Morem, verecundique Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis.

5 Vino & lucernis Medus acinaces
Immane quantum discrepat. Impium
Lenite clamorem, sodales,
Et cubito remanete presso.

Vultis severi me quoque fumere
10 Partem Falerni? Dicat Opuntia
Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
Vulnere, quâ pereat sagittâ.

Cessat voluntas? Non aliâ bibam
Mercede. Quæ te cunque domat Venus,
15 Non erubescendis adurit
Ignibus, ingenuoque semper
Amore peccas. Quidquid habes, age,
Depone tutis auribus — Ah miser
Quantâ laboras in Charybdi!
20 Digne puer meliore flammâ.

Quæ faga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit Deus?
Vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediat Chimæra.

O D E

O D E XV.

TO HIS FRIENDS.

That Quarrels are unseasonable at a Feast.

THE Table shou'd be the Rendezvous of innocent Pleasures; it only sutes savage *Thracians* to make it the Theater of furious Broils. Let Us from our Repasts banish such barb'rous Manners, let Us contain ourselves within the Bounds of Moderation, and not distain the Eyes of *Bacchus* with our bloody Quarrels.

What Madnes moves Us to brandish our murdering Scymitars amid the Joys of sparkling Wine and the Gleam of friendly Tapers? Was there ever an Assemblage more monstrous? Be rul'd by Me, my Friends, let Us cease these impious Brawls, and resume our Places at the Table.

Have Ye a Mind we should tast this *Falernian*? it is very potent, I know it: no Matter, I consent to drink my share; but on Condition that *Megilla's* Brother confes from what bright Eyes the Arrow flew that has given him so happy a Wound.

How! do You make a Difficulty to avow the generous Flame? Nay then I swear I will not drink a Drop. Let *Venus* triumph o'er your Heart in what Shape she will, never blush to own a Slav'ry that cannot captivate You at the Expense of your Honor. Tell me frankly in my Ear the Secret of your Soul, and reckon upon my Discretion — Alas! unhappy Youth, what do You tell me? What a Gulf of Perdition are You involv'd in! Sure You deserv'd a nobler Lot.

What Sorceress, what Inchanter with all the Power of Magic, nay what God can deliver You? *Bellerophon* himself mounted on *Pegasus* and supported by *Neptune's* Succor cou'd hardly extricate You from the triumphant Flames of this insuperable *Chimæra*.

RE-

REMARKS on ODE XV.

HORACE was at an Entertainment, where a Dispute began to inflame some Heads already heated by the Vapors of Wine. The most reasonable of the Company had doubtless to no purpose employ'd the gravest Reflexions to restore Peace. The Poet at last gain'd the Point, artfully imposing on 'em by a gay, piquant, unexpected Proposal. This Adventure appear'd to him very proper to furnish out an ODE, which probably he compos'd a little after Supper, without giving his Imagination Time to cool. The Character of it is singular. Vivacity sparkles in it from End to End, but it's Sallys are various; sometimes smart and sudden, sometimes wag-gish, sometimes moral, but all employ'd with so much Discretion that their natural Air prevents all Suspicion of Artifice. The whole ends by a small Stroke of Satire, which lights upon two Persons. The Company laughs at the Expense of the One who is known and present, and endeavors to guess at the other who is absent and unknown. Thus by an agreeable Diversion the Quarrel vanishes, and good Humour succeeds to Passion. Shou'd I affirm this ODE to be a real *in promptu* I need not fear Contradiction. What they see in our Days at Rome, in the Person of *Bernardin Perfetti* a Gentleman of *Siena*, renders the Thing very probable. They affirm he pours out upon the Spot and upon a Subject given the finest *Italian* Verses that can be heard, and that too with such Rapidity that the swiftest Writer can't keep Pace with him. They add he is not the first they have seen in that Country *IMPROVISARE* as the *Italians* term it.

✧ 3. *Verecundi*.] They have hitherto read *verecundum* here, and this Passage has exercis'd the Critics, because the Poet gives *Bacchus* elsewhere a quite

quite contrary Epithet, stiling him *inverecundus Deus*. Dr. Bentley has rightly suspected some Corruption in the former of these two Texts, he has even propos'd in his Notes to read here *inverecundum*, but goes no farther, sticking in his Text to the ordinary Reading. His Reason is that we may say absolutely *verecundus Bacchus*, *sober Bacchus*, because it is our fault if he be not so, *Bacchus, nisi per nos steterit, verecundus erit*. This Explication has all the Air of a Defeat. Had this been HORACE's Thought, he shou'd have let Us perceive it, by modifying the Epithet in one of the two Passages, without which their Opposition must be always displeasing. Mr. Cuningam thought himself oblig'd to surmount the Difficulty and to substitute *verecundi* in the Text for *verecundum*. A Correction he judg'd necessary, and a more natural One has not been propos'd. This Quality is wanting to Dr. Bentley's. Because in one Place HORACE has said *Bacchus inverecundus*, is it a Consequence that he says here *inverecundum Bacchum*? Cou'd a Penury of Expressions oblige him to copy himself so literally? We cannot reasonably form such a Suspicion. Or, was the Epithet *inverecundus* so particularly attach'd to *Bacchus*, that it might be given to him ev'ry where indifferently as a surname? That is not likely. But were it so, the Critic wou'd get nothing by that; because this Word cou'd not have the same Sense in both Places. Here it wou'd mean, that *Bacchus* is a God naturally quarrellous *facilis & proclivis sponte sua ad rixas*, as Dr. Bentley explains it, there it signifies that this God leads to Indiscretion and banishes all Reserve. 'Tis therefore bad Reas'ning to attempt to authorise one of these Passages by the other, since the Word common to them wou'd cease to be the same by the Diff'rence of Signification.

✧ 24. *Pegasus*.] HORACE only mentions *Pegasus*, who was no more than the Instrument of the Expedition

pedition against the *Chimæra*, but then he wou'd have Us understand both the God and the Hero who were the Actors in it, without which his Reas'ning wou'd not be just. At the Time he wrote, these Fables

C A R M E N XVI.

A D D I A N A M.

Ob amicam partu feliciter levatam sacrum annum pollicetur.

L. 3.
O. 22.

MONTIUM custos nemorumque, virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque leto,
Diva triformis;

Imminens villæ tua pinus esto,
Quam per exactos ego lætus annos,
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
Sanguine donem.

R E M A R K S on ODE XVI.

THE Subject and Date of this ODE are unknown to Us. We may say the Loss is not great, as it contains nothing apt to excite our Curiosity. I imagin that HORACE being at his *Villa* learn'd a Piece of News which gave him Pleasure. That was enough for a Poet to pour out upon the Spot a couple of Stanzas, which have nothing

Fables were so well known that a single Circumstance recall'd to Mind all the rest. As that is not the Case at present, I cou'd not dispense with supplying the *Latin* by the Translation.

O D E XVI.

T O D I A N A.

On the safe Deliv'ry of one of his Mistresses he promises *Diana* a yearly Sacrifice.

CHAST DIANA, of Hills and Groves kind Guardian, triple Divinity, who under three mysterious Names invok'd dost Women in the rueful Throes of Birth solace, and from invading Death secure;

To thee with all my Heart I consecrate that lofty Pine, which shades my Country-seat, and with a young Boar's Blood, who whets his Tusks already and meditates a glancing Wound, I promise to besprinkle it at the End of each revolving Year.

thing but their natural Air to recommend them. The Verses flow smoothly and are well cadenc'd; it is the Overflow of a pure and plenteous Source.

‡ 6. *Quam sanguine donem.*] By a figurative and poetic Expression he seems to transport to his fav'rit Tree, which was before his Eyes, the Honor of the Sacrifice he promises *Diana*.

CARMEN XVII.

AD LYDEN.

Ad transigenda hilariter Neptunalia in ejus domum se
invitat.

L. 1.
Od. 9.

FESTO quid potiùs die
Neptuni facias? Prome reconditum,
Lyde, strenua Cæcubum;
Munitæque adhibe vim sapientiæ.

5 Inclinare meridiem
Sentis; ac veluti stet volucris dies,
 Parcis deripere horreo
Cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram?

 Nos Cantabimus invicem
40 Neptunum, & virides Nereïdum comas:
 Tu curvâ recines lyrâ
 Latonam, & sceleris spicula Cynthiae:
 Summo carmine, quæ Cnidon
Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas, & Paphum
15 Junctis visit oloribus.
Dicetur meritâ Nox quoque neniâ.

REMARKS on ODE XVII.

ON Neptune's Feast, which was celebrated the
twenty-eighth of July, the Streets and Sub-
urbs of *Rome* being crouded with Strangers, who
flock'd from all Parts, HORACE who was a Foe
to

O D E XVII.

T O L Y D E.

He invites himself to pass the Feast of *Neptune* agreeably at her House.

LYDE, let my Advice direct thee how to spend this Day to NEPTUNE sacred. Instant produce thy best *cæcubian* Wine; and that Austerity, which from surprise thy Virtue guards, for once debauch. Nothing can better fute the grand Occasion.

The Sun, you see, has more than half his Course already run, but as if he did in Complaisance stand still. You yet delay to lug that lazy Bottle out, which in your Cellar has been mellowing ever since *Bibulus* was Consul.

We'll sing alternate, and You shall join the Accents of your Lyre. I'll sing great *Neptune* and his Train of Nymphs with Sea-green Hair, You shall *Latona* sing, and *Cynthia* Sov'rein of the Chase. At last our Voices shall unite in Praise of Beauty's Queen ador'd at *Cnidos*, whose Pow'r the brilliant *Cyclades* confess, who in a Chariot drawn by milk-white Swans visits each Year the *paphian* Isle. The Goddess of the Night, who so much Space for Pleasure yields, must in our Hymns be gratefully remember'd,

to Noise and Hurry chose to be snug at a Lady's of his Acquaintance, and there in Music and good Cheer tast the Pleasures of the Feast without suffering the Inconveniences of it. This ODE is a Sally of good Humor on that Occasion, and is written with

a very lively and natural Turn. 'Tis impossible to divine the Year of it's Composition.

‡ 2. *Facius.*] This Reading two Commentators have put into the Text before Me, and it is by another learned Critic acknowledg'd to be a very natural and a very probable One: *est sanè hæc conjectura & valde manifesta & valde verisimilis.* I think it gives a more lively Air to the Poet's Thought.

‡ 4. *Munitæque adhibe, &c.*] This Metaphor is noble and well persu'd. *Sapientia munita* is Virtue continually on it's Gard against Surprise.

‡ 8. *Cessantem bibuli, &c.*] We mast take this Expression in general to signify only very old Wine. The Epithet *cessantem* may besides relate to *Lyde*, and to *Bibulus*. *Lyde*, to judg of her from the Character the Poet gives her here, and in the ODE *Mer-*

C A R M E N XVIII.

A D F A U N U M.

H Y M N U S.

L. 3.
O. 18.

FAUNE, Nympharum fugientium amator,
Per meos fines & aprica rura
Lenis incedas, abeasque parvis
Æquus alumnis;

5 Si tenor pleno cadit hædus anno,
Larga nec defunt Veneris sodali
Vina crateræ, vetus ara multo
Fumat odore.

Ludit herbofo pecus omne campo,
10 Quum tibi Nonæ redeunt decembres,
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus;

Inter

Mercuri, (nam te &c. led a very regular Life. She must have been a little imbarass'd on his Proposal of a Party of Pleasure to *her*, and was in no great Hurry, it seems, to put his Orders in Execution. Thence these reiterated Solicitations of his, *promē strenua Cæcubum, parcis deripere horreo cessantem amphoram.* Perhaps too he makes an arch Allusion to the Inaction of that *Consul*, who left ev'ry Thing to the Care of his Colleague, without ever intermeddling.

¶ 12. *Latonam.*] With the marine Divinitys, who ought to share in *Neptune's* Feast, he joins the three Goddesses who were by the Sex particularly honor'd, and were the ordinary Subject of their Songs.

¶ 16. *Nox quoque neniā.*] The Poet means nothing else, but that the *Feast* shou'd not conclude with the Day. *Nenia* here signifys a Hymn.

O D E XVIII.

TO THE GOD *FAUNUS*,

A H Y M N.

GOD of the Woods, whose eager Passion the Alarms of timid *Nymphs* create, if, when this Year expires, my first Care be to stain with a Kid's Blood thy hallow'd Grove, if to my Sacrifice I add flowing Bowls of Love-inspiring Wine; if liberal I on thy ancient Altar fragrant Incense burn, then grant my humble Sute: over my sunny Fields and Precincts pass benign, nor quit 'em 'till among my tender Flocks thou hast with lavish Hand thy Benefits diffus'd.

On thy sacred Festival they in soft Herbage wantonly exult, our Bullocks tast a sweet Repose, and all the Village is dissolv'd in Joy. Assur'd of thy Protection Lambkins amid Wolves the Meads intrepid graze; Forests to strew the Ways for thy

Inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
 Spargit agrestes tibi sylva frondes;
 15 Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
 Ter pede terram.

REMARKS on ODE XVIII.

ON the thirteenth of *February* the amorous God *Faunus* pass'd (as the *Romans* imagin'd from *Arcadia* into *Italy*, and did not return thither till the 5th of *December*. They sacrific'd to him both on his Arrival, and at his Departure. Our Poet being at his *Villa* compos'd this Hymn to be sung at his *December* Feasts which were particularly call'd *Faunalia*. There is nothing extraordinary in it, but the Whole is in good Taste, the Design well lay'd and as well conducted, the Versification smooth, the Thoughts natural, the Images pleasant and rural, the Diction easy and elegant. y 7.

CARMEN XIX.

Ante A. U. C. Dccxxxiv.

AD AMICOS.

Bellicam fortitudinem, probitatem, & arcani fidem
 commendat.

L. 3.
 Od 2.

ANGUSTAM, amici, pauperiem pati
 Robustus acri militiâ puer
 Condiscat; & Parthos feroces
 Vexet eques metuendus hastâ;
 5 Vitamque sub dio, & trepidis agat
 In rebus: illum ex mœnibus hosticis
 Matrona bellantis tyranni
 Prospiciens & adulta virgo

Suf-

Ode XVIII. HORACE'S ODES.

79

Passage strip off their Foliage; and in rustic Sarabands our Vine-dressers lustily thump the Ground, in revenge for the Pains they suffer'd in it's Culture.

ψ 7. *Vetus ara.*] *Faunus* was one of the most ancient Gods in *Italy*.

ψ 9. *Ludit herbofo, &c.*] This ode is divided into two equal Parts. The first contains the Pray'rs of the Poet; the second the Blessings of the God, and the Rejoycings of the Village. The second Part begins here. 'Tis ridiculous to make this Part, which is absolute, to depend upon the conditional *si* of the 5th Verse, as several Commentators have done. The Diversion of the Cattel in the Meads, and the Security of the Lambs tho' feeding with Wolves are the Effects of the Favor of the God, but cou'd not be Motives to demand, nor Means to obtain it.

O D E XIX.

TO HIS FRIENDS.

He recommends Valor, Probity, and the Fidelity of a Secret.

MY Friends, the Youth of a robust Complexion shou'd in the toilsom Exercise of Arms be train'd to bear afflictive Want and Hunger's pinching Pain; let him both Night and Day expose his Limbs to Injurs of Air or bleak or scorching; let him to continual Alarms attentive live; let him urge the foaming Steed, dart the shiv'ring Lance, and gall the haughty *Parthians*. Let his first Appearance in the martial Field strike Terror through the Heart of ev'ry hostile Dame: Let the Tyrant's Consort, and

- Suspiret, eheu ! ne rudis agminum
 10 Sponsus laceſſat regius aſperum
 Taſtu leonem ; quem cruenta
 Per medias rapit ira cædes.
 Dulce & decòrum eſt pro patriâ mori.
 Mors & fugacem perſequitur virum :
 15 Nec parcit imbellis juventæ
 Poplitibus, timidove tergo.

- Virtus, repulſæ neſciâ fordidæ, in-
 contaminatis fulget honoribus ;
 Nec ſumit aut ponit ſecures
 20 Arbitrio popularis auræ.
 Virtus, recludens immeritis mori
 Cœlum, negatâ tentat iter viâ ;
 Cætuſque vulgares, & udam
 Spernit humum fugiente pennâ.
 25 Eſt & fideli tuta ſilentio
 Merces : vetabo, qui Cereris ſacrum
 Vulgarit arcanæ, ſub iſdem
 Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
 Solvat phaſelum. Sæpè Dieſpiter
 30 Neglectus inceſto addidit integrum :
 Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum
 Deſeruit pede Pœna claudò.

REMARKS on ODE XIX.

HORACE, in order to adapt his Writings to
 ev'ry Taſt, ſometimes imbelliſhes 'em with the
 fineſt Maxims of Zeno's School, which furniſhes a vaſt
 Number

his Daughter ripe for nuptial Joy, when from their Turrets they descry our blooming Hero tow'rd's their Walls advancing, shudder at his approaches; let 'em deep Sighs emit from Apprehensions dire, alas! lest the Spouse destin'd for the Princess, and but yet a Novice in the Art of War shou'd rashly charge this furious Lion, who, wheree'er his boiling Rage transports him, marks his Way with ghastly Defolation. A brave Man bleeds with Pleasure in his Country's Cause, and falls with Honor. The Wretch who flies does not out-run his Fate: tho' Youth shou'd wing his Speed DEATH overtakes him, and to the trembling Slave, who turns upon the Foe his Back, no Quarter gives.

Conscious VIRTUE never knew the Scandal of Repulse. A genuin Luster She diffuses which no Blot can tarnish. On Favor independent She at the arbitrary Will of a capricious Mob nor takes nor quits the Badges of her Dignity. VIRTUE the Sky unbars to those who merit Immortality; a Way to others inaccessible SHE strikes out for *them*; She spurns, She flies the tumultuous assemblies of a fickle Croud, and shoots with rapid Flight beyond this dirty Planet to which our Passions fix Us.

SECRETS demand Fidelity, and this Fidelity sure Recompense attends. I shall be ever on my Gard, nor under the same Roof to lodg, nor in one Vessel to embark with the vane Man who blabs abroad the mystic Rites of *Ceres*. When *Jove* revenges violated Laws, oft with the Guilty he involves the Innocent: VENGEANCE stalks on with solemn Pace, the Criminal gets the Start, yet first or last She overtakes him, 'tis rare that he escapes her.

Number of moral Traits capable of striking certain rigid Tempers, who are in Love with Severity, were it even to terminate in Speculation. The Poet here confines himself to three Points of this Morality, which

are of universal Extent. The first is for military Life, the second for civil Life, and the third for all Stations, The Form of this ODE is a little singular. I question whether the Admirers of *Lyric* Poesy can relish a Piece compos'd of three Parts so apparently mismatch'd. A little more Unity in the Design, wou'd, I believe, have done no Harm to it. However, we may say the Poet has made all possible Amends for this Default by the other Graces of Poetry. The Verses are charming, the Images lively, and the Sentiments noble. This Work preceded the Reduction of the PARTHIANS.

¶ 6. *Ilum ex mœnibus hospitibus, &c.*] What a Magnificence in this Image! 'Twere impossible to have produc'd a young Hero on a grander Theater than this, nor cou'd his dawning Valor shine in a fairer View. It is probable that the Tyrant spoken of is the King of *Parthia*, and that his Daughter was the destin'd Consort of some young Prince of that Country.

¶ 17. *Virtus repulsæ, &c.*] A shining Instance of this was *Cato* of *Utica*, who the very Day he was repuls'd from the *Prætorship*, went, as *Seneca* reports, to play Ball: So far was he from thinking himself dishonour'd.

¶ 18. *Incontaminatis*] This is the Reading of several Manuscripts. The Copyers or old Grammarians surpris'd to find *incontaminatis* at the Beginning of an *alcaic* Verse, retrench'd a Syllable which they thought too much, and wrote *intaminatis*. They might have spar'd themselves so rash an Alteration, had they consider'd that the first Syllable of *incontaminatis* must make an Elision with the last of the preceding Verse, which is not without Example, even in *HORACE*; and that in the Place of a very good *latin* Word they have foisted One which does not at all import the Sense it should have here. *Intaminatus* is to be met with no where but in *Cyri's* Glossary, where it signifies the same Thing with *pollutus*, *inquinatus*, which is precisely the Reverse of the Poet's Thought. He calls those Honors pure that are neither owing to Faction
or

or Canvassing, or other baser Means that tarnish all their Lustre.

‡ 19. *Nec sumit aut ponit secures.*] The People gave and took away Magistracys at their Pleasure. But true Virtue is properly our own, and within Us, and no One can take it away from Us.

‡ 22. *Negatâ viâ.*] The Way to Heav'n is accessible to those alone who practise Virtue, it is refus'd to ev'ry One else, that is, it is shut against them. HORACE willing to speak of the proper Virtues of civil Life chuses for an Instance one of the noblest Functions of this State, I mean Magistracy.

‡ 25. *Est & fideli, &c.*] He finishes in Praise of Discretion; and gives an Instance of it taken from the Mysterys of Religion, which exacted the greatest Secrecy.

‡ 26. *Cereris sacrum.*] He that divulg'd her Mysterys was look'd on as a Victim of the Wrath of Heav'n. His Presence was by ev'ry Body avoided, and the most ordinary Succors of Life were refus'd him.

‡ 32. *Peda Pœna claudo.*] This lame Vengeance is a very natural Image of the divine Patience in punishing the Guilty.

CARMEN XX.

Ante A. U. C. DCCXXVII.

AD AVARUM.

Seculi sui vitia infectatur, & eorum remedium proponit.

L. 3.
O. 24.

INTACTIS opulentior
Thesaurus Arabum & divitis Indiæ,
Cæmentis licet occupes

Tyrrenum omne tuis, & mare Apulicum;

5 (Sic figit adamantinos

Summis verticibus dura Necessitas

Clavos) non animum metu,

Non mortis laqueis expedit caput.

Campestres melius Scythæ,

10 Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos.

Vivunt, & rigidi Getæ;

Immetata quibus jugera liberas

Fruges & Cererem ferunt;

Nec cultura placet longior annuâ,

15 Defunctumque laboribus

Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.

Illic matre carentibus

Privignis mulier temperat innocens:

Nec dotata regit virum

20 Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero.

Dos est magna parentium

Virtus, & metuens alterius viri

Certo fœdere castitas;

Et peccare nefas, aut pretium emori.

O D E XX.

TO A MISER.

He inveighs against the Vices of the Age, and proposes
a Remedy for them.

TH O' You cou'd display more precious Ore than
India and *Arabia* treasure in their Bowels,
whose Stores have not by *Roman* Avarice been rifled
yet ; tho' with amazing Structures You cou'd crown
the Shores of both our Seas, never cou'd all your
Wealth avert or sooth the dire Alarms which shake
your Soul, nor gard your Body from grim Death's in-
evitable Snares. Such th' irrevocable Order of Destiny,
which all the Height of human Grandor has not
Power to dispense with.

Happyer a hundred Times the *Scythians*, whose
errant Families in Waggon's troll from Place to Place :
More happy far the *Getae*, mauger the Roughness of
their Manners. Lands among them are free, nor to
Particulars subjected or by Partition or by Property.
Their rustic Toil continues but a Year : each Indi-
vidual takes his Turn ; and he, who has his Time once
furnish'd, is by another Heir reliev'd, or rather by
another Depositary of the same Goods, that is to say,
of the same Cares.

There Step-dames, thro' an Innocence of Manners
little known to Us, ne'er form Designs against the
Children of a former Marriage. Their Wives are on
their Gard against the sly Cajolerys of spruce Gallants,
and never from their Dowry clame a Right of domi-
neering o'er their Husbands. A Wife's most valu'd
Portion is, the strict Virtue of her Parents ; her invio-
lable Attachment to her Spouse ; her Horror at the
Thoughts of any other Man ; and lastly her Persua-
sion that Infidelity is a Crime and Death the Purchase.

86 HORATII LYRICORUM. Lib. I.

- 25 O! si quis volet impias
Cædes, et rabiem tollere civicam;
Si quæret pater urbium,
Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrenare licentiam,
30 Clarus postgenitis: quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

- Quid tristes querimoniae,
Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
35 Quid leges sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt; si neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque solo nives
40 Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora navitæ;
Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis & facere & pati,
Virtutiq; viam deserit arduæ?

- 45 Vel nos in Capitolium
Quo clamor vocat ac turba faventium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas & lapides, aurum & inutile,
Summi materiem mali,
50 Mittamus. Scelerum si bene pœnitet,
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa, & teneræ nimis
Mentes asperioribus
Firmandæ studiis.

- Nescit equo rudis
55 Hærerere ingenuus puer,
Venariq; timet ludere doctior,

O! cou'd a Hero happily be found capable of exterminating Sacrilege and Murder? of stopping the Issue of our Civil Blood; of meriting that Citys shou'd call him their Father and their Savior, and under these Titles raise Statues to his Glory? To compass this He must have Courage to curb the licentious Manners of this headstrong Age. At this Rate only can he be assur'd that Posterity will render Justice to his Virtue. For, such alas! our Whimsicalness, with jealous Eye sickning at Perfection we behold the Good and Great when living, and with Hate implacable pursue; but as incessantly regret, when from our wond'ring Eyes they're snatch'd aloft.

But what avail our sad Complaints, if Justice do not draw her Sword for the Chastisement of Villany? What are Laws without Conformity of Manners but State-pageantry? What do they signify, if the Merchant is not discourag'd by the intense Heats which guard the torrid Zone from seeking the Metal boiling in the Mine; nor his flaming Avarice cool'd by northern Snows, which tho' vastly deep are even to the Surface of the Earth congel'd; if the advent'rous Pilot has the Skill to baffle the Fury of the Waves; if Poverty, which passes for the greatest of Disgraces, relinquishes the arduous Paths of Virtue, and drives Men into the High-road of Vice?

Let Us to the Capitol go, to which the joyful Shouts and Applauses of the People invite Us; thither let Us go and sacrifice to the Gods this useless Mass of Gold, Pearls and precious Stones, the Source of all our Ills: Or rather let Us rob our Avarice intirely of them, by burying them for ever in the deep Womb of the neighb'ring Sea. Are we truly touch'd with Remorse for our Crimes? We must root out the very Seeds of our wild Appetites; We must form our Chidren early to laborious Exercises, by inspiring them with Inclinations more manly and exalted.

What a Scandal that our young Nobility scarce can sit the manag'd Steed, that they dread the Fatigue of the Chase; whilst they but too much signalise their

- Seu Græco jubeas trocho,
 Seu malis vetitâ legibus aleâ:
 Quum perjura patris fides
 60 Consortem, & socium fallat, & hospitem,
 Indignoque pecuniam
 Heredi properet. Scilicet improbæ
 Crescunt divitiæ; tamen
 Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.

REMARKS on ODE XX.

TO instruct with Dignity and Delights is in a particular Manner the Gift of *lyric* Poets. These two Advantages are really to be found together in *dramatic* or *fabular* Poetry. The ODE creates Respect for a moral Truth by Sublimity of Sentiment, Majesty of Cadence, Boldness of Figure, and Force of Expression; and prevents Disgust by it's Brevity, Variety of Turns, and the Choice of Ornaments which a skilful Poet knows how to bestow with Propriety. Among the many Pieces HORACE has left Us of this Kind, this is not the least estimable. It is naturally divided into three Parts. In the first he exposes the licentious Enormitys of the Age; in the second he discovers their Causes; and applys Remedys to them in the third.

¶ 5. *Sic* *figit.*] The Copyers have frequently taken *Si* and *Sic* one for the other. In the ODE *ô matre pulchrâ* they have put *sic* for *si*. Here they have done quite the contrary. The old Scholiasts by thus paraphrasing this Place, *quippe quum necessitatē mortis adstricta sit humana conditio*, have preserv'd to Us the sure Traces of the true Reading, such as they found it in their Copys. *Quippe quum* is precisely the same Thing with *Sic*.

Skill in whirling round after the *grecian* Manner an Iron Hoop garnish'd with tinkling Rings, or in playing at Games of Hazard by so many penal Laws prohibited! What Scandal that a perfidious Father, to hasten the Fortune of an undeserving Son, makes his Oaths a Snare to his Partners and Coheirs, and violates the most sacred Laws of Hospitality! But in vain does he amass immense Treasures at the Expense of his Honesty, his Passion ingenious in tormenting him always discovers that something is wanting to his insatiate Avarice.

† 6. *Summis verticibus.*] By these Words have been understood the august Buildings which the *Romans* rais'd along the *tuscan* and *adriatic* Seas; or the Heads of those who erected those proud Structures; or even the Heads of those Diamond Nails which Necessity is represented holding in her Hands. But to Me it appears that the Poet had none of these Notions. *Vertex* is here us'd in a *metaphoric* and *moral* Sense, as well as *Clavus*, and signifies the same Thing with *Apex* in the ODE *Parcus Deorum*, that is to say the Pinnacle of Grandor, Fortunes the most exalted, and this Sense is very beautiful. You may, says the Poet, border the two Seas with sumtuous Edifices: but all that will not be capable to secure You against the Fears of Death, nor against Death himself, *who spares no one*.

† 25. *O! si quis.*] Tho' but a single Manuscript is cited for this Reading, 'tis probably the only true one. The Series of the Thought naturally leads to it, and the Repetition of *Si* adds to it both Grace and Energy. The Poet says that in Order to extinguish the Fire of civil Fury, 'tis necessary to trace the Disorder to the Source, that is, to begin by a Reformation of Manners. *Augustus* soon after perform'd all this by his Laws and his Example.

† 32. *Quærimus invidi.*] We wish for them when they can no longer eclipse Us. We have in our Hearts a Fund of Esteem for Virtue, which discovers itself as soon as Self-interest is out of the Question.

✧ 39. *Duratæque solo nives.*] That is, *ad solum usque, solo tenuis.* So *Virgil* says *it clamor cælo, & tremefacta solo tellus.* It ought to be remark'd that *ſi* of the thirty-sixth Verse extends to the eight Verses following.

✧ 45. *Vel nos in Capitolium, &c.*] Such Consecrations as he invites the *Romans* to, were perform'd in the grandest Manner before a vast concourse of People. *Plutarch* speaks of those of *Sylla* and *Lucullus*, and *Suetonius* of those of the Emperors.

✧ 51. *Eradenda cupidinis, &c.*] Here *HORACE* speaks the pure Language of the *Stoics*, who stretch'd Morality to an impracticable Rigorism. One of their Dogmas was that We ought to extinguish our Passions. Nothing can be more senseless. *Epicurus* requires Us on the contrary to moderate our natural Appetites, to regulate them by Reason, and make them subservient to our Happyneſs. Nothing can be more prudent. The Passions are an inseparable Appendage of our Humanity, we cannot divest ourselves of them without ceasing to be Men. But when We can conduct them properly, they become the Instrument of the most eminent Virtues.

End of the first Book of the ODES.

Q. HORATII

Q. HORATII FLACCI
LYRICORUM CARMINUM.
LIBER SECUNDUS.

THE
O D E S
OF
H O R A C E.
BOOK SECOND.

2. HONORARY FELLOW

LYRICOLUM CARMINUM

LIBER SECONDUS

ODD E S

Y O R A C E

BOOK SECOND

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Co

- 1.
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T A B L E

O F T H E

O D E S

Contain'd in the second BOOK,

Compos'd between the Years 720 and 726 of *Rome* ;

That is to say,

Between the 31 and the 37 of *HORACE*.

New Distribution.		Old Distribution.	
		Book.	Ode.
1.	Q UEM tu Melpomene.	4	3
2.	Coelo supinas.	3	23
3.	Parcus Deorum.	1	34
4.	Inclusam Danaen.	3	16
5.	O fons Bandusiae.	3	13
6.	Quò quò scelesti.	5	7
7.	Tu ne quaesieris.	1	11
8.	O nata mecum.	3	21
9.	Pastor quum traheret.	1	15
10.	Perficos odi.	1	38
11.	Albus ut obscuro.	1	7
12.	Ibis Liburnis.	5	1
13.	Altera jam teritur.	5	16
14.	Quando repostum.	5	9
15.	Nunc est bibendum.	1	37
16.	Quid fles Asterie.	3	7
17.	Motum ex Metello.	2	1
18.	Scribêris Vario.	1	16
19.	Audivere Lyce.	4	13
20.	Quò me Bacche rapis.	3	25

2. *HORA-*

Q. HORATII FLACCI
 LYRICORUM CARMINUM.
 LIBER SECUNDUS.

CARMEN I.
 AD MELPOMENEN.

Acceptum illi refert, quòd aliquem inter poetas nume-
 rum & locum obtineat.

L. 4.
 Od. 3.

QUEM tu, Melpomene, semel
 Nascentem placido lumine videris,
 Illum non labor Isthmius
 5 Clarabit pugilem; non equus impiger
 Cursum ducet Achaïo
 Victorem; neque res bellica Deliis
 Ornatum foliis ducem,
 Quòd regum tumidas contuderit minas,
 Ostendet Capitolio:
 10 Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt,
 Et spissæ nemorum comæ,
 Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.

Romæ

T H E
O D E S
O F
H O R A C E.

B O O K II.

O D E I.

T O *MELPOMENE*.

He acknowledges himself indebted to her for the
Rank he holds among the Poets.

O *MELPOMENE*, a Mortal happy enough at the
Moment of his Birth to attract thy indulgent
Regards can never relish any other Glory than that of
serving thee. He nor in Combats of the pond'rous
Gantlet himself will seek to signalise at *isthmian*
Games ; nor drawn by rapid Steeds dispute the Prize,
in order to return on a triumphal Car victorious and
gather the Applauses of united *Greece*. Free from
th' Ambition of adorning his Temples with the Laurels
of War, he never will in all the Pride of Pomp be to
the *Capitol* conducted, for having broke the Strength
and baffled the Menaces of haughty Tyrants. Charm'd
with the balmy Coolness of *Tivoli's* shady Groves, and
the mazy murmuring Rills which thro' it's Orchards
glide, he will in these sweet Retreats imbibe a Stock of
har-

- Romæ principis urbiam
 Dignatur soboles inter amabiles
 15 Vatum ponere me choros :
 Et jam dente minùs torqueor invido :
 O testudinis aureæ
 Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas :
 O mutis quoque piscibus
 20 Donatura cyni, si libeat, sonum :
 Totum muneris hoc tui est,
 Quòd monstror digito prætereuntium
 Romanæ fidicen lyrae :
 Quòd spiro & placeo (si placeo) tuum est.

REMARKS on ODE I.

SCALIGER prefer'd this Piece to the Crown of *Arragon*. This Exageration reduc'd to good Sense signifys that it is perfectly fine, which no Body can deny. Poetry, Sublimity and Delicacy shine equally in the Thoughts, the Stile, and the Versification.

‡ 1. *Melpomene*.] This Muse, who with her early Favors prevents the Person to whom she destins her Laurels, is nothing else but that Fire, Harmony, and Enthusiasm, which Art and Study may govern, but Nature only can bestow, and without which no one can ever merit the Name of Poet. *Melpomene* is here for the Muses in general.

‡ 3. *Labor Isthmius*.] A Man possess'd with a Genius for Poetry grows insensible to all the other Advantages so highly esteem'd by Mankind. HORACE denotes these Advantages by the gymnic Crowns of GREECE, and the Triumphs of ROME.

‡ 4. *Equus impiger*.] This Passage has been explan'd in two diff'rent Senses, which I have united in the Translation. Perhaps both were present to the Poet's Mind. At least no Reasons have been yet alledg'd capable

harmonious Spirits capable of exalting him to the Sublimity of *lyric* Poetry.

Rome, as far to other Citys by it's just Taſt as by it's Power ſuperior, already deigns to rank Me with the lovely Choirs of *lyric* Bards, already do her Suffrages begin to ſhield Me from the Darts of Envy.

O Muſe divine, who doſt attune the golden Lyre and draw ſoft Sounds from ſtubborn Strings, who art with Power indu'd t' inſpire at thy Pleaſure even to mute Fiſhes the melodious Voice of dying Swans, to thee alone I owe the Honor of being in all public Places pointed out as the Inventor of the *lyric* ODE ; by thee I have the Advantage of pleaſing in my Lifetime, if I can truly flatter myſelf that I do pleaſe.

capable of determining me more to the one than the other. So it ſignifys little whether *curru* depends on *ducet* or on *Viſtorem*.

✧ 12. *Fingent.*] Upon the View of a delicious Country the Imagination is fill'd with charming Images, which it labors to impart. Warbling Birds, enamel'd Meads, cool Groves, purling Streams are as exterior Aſſiſtances, which by bringing the Mind into an agreeable Frame, cheriſh and fortify the Diſpoſition which Nature has given us for Poetry.

✧ 16. *Torqueor.*] The Poet means not only that Envy was become leſs outrageous againſt him, but further that he was now almoſt rais'd above her, and out of the Reach of her Arrows. *Cuningam* has reſtor'd this Reading inſtead of *mordeor* which apparently ſprung from the Word *Dente*.

✧ 18. *Temperas.*] This Verb comes from *tempus*, and is here uſed in it's firſt Signification for *tempora et modos ſtatueret*, to regulate Time, and Cadence.

✧ 20. *Cycni ſonum.*] An old *Norwegian* once aſſur'd *Iſaac Voſſius* he had heard a Swan ſing, and that it's Voice was very melodious. For my Part I am perſuaded that Swans ſing no where but in the Country where the Phenix riſes out of his own Aſhes, and where
the

the Eye of the Basilisk kills at a Distance, that is to say in the Country of Fables *Mythologic Tradition* is a sufficient Ground for poetic Credulity.

ÿ 24. *Spiro & placeo.*] That is, *quod vivus placeo*, that I please in my Life-time. Other Senses which have been

CARMEN II. AD PHIDYLEN.

Deos non tam sumtuosis quàm puris muneribus
conciliari.

- L. 3.
O. 23. **C**ÆLO supinas si tuleris manus,
Nascente Lunâ, rustica Phidyle,
Si thure placaris & hornâ
Frugè Lares, avidâque porcâ;
5 Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
Fecunda vitis, nec sterilem seges
Rubiginem, aut dulces alumni
Pomisero grave tempus anno.
Nam quæ nivali pascitur Algidò
10 Devota quercus inter & ilices,
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis,
Victima pontificum secures
Cervice tingit : te nihil adtinet
Tentare multâ cæde bidentium
15 Parvos coronantem marino
Rore Deos, fragilique myrto.
Immunis aram si tetigit manus ;
Non sumtuosâ blandior hostiâ
Mollirit averfos Penates,
Farre pio, & saliente micâ.

REMARKS on ODE II.

I Don't know whether HORACE was afraid that his House-keeper in the Country might ruin him by her Oblations and Sacrifices, which she made too frequently

been given to this Passage shew the Sagacity and Eru-
dition of Commentators. HORACE himself, I
mean the Conduct of this Piece, has naturally led me
into this.

O D E II.
T O P H I D Y L E.

That the most simple Present offer'd with pure Hands,
is as agreeable to the Gods as the most magnificent
Sacrifices.

IS it, laborious *Phidyle*, thy Desire, that scorching
Winds mayn't blast thy fruitful Vines, that Mil-
dews may not burn thy Corn, that Autumn's Maladys
may spare the tender Off-spring of thy Flocks? Be sa-
tisfy'd with lifting up thy Hands to Heav'n at each
new Moon, with laying Incense on the Shrine of thy
domestic Gods, with off'ring to them thy First-fruits
and staining with a greedy Swine their Altars.

It is reserv'd for Pontifs to paint their Axes with the
Blood of Victims pamper'd for public Sacrifices in the
Forests of Mount *Algidum*, or the Pasturage of *Alba*.
It does not thy mean Circumstances sute to try to bribe
the Favor of thy little Gods by slaughtering a Multi-
tude of Beasts. According to thy ordinary Custom
give them Garlands of Rosemary and Myrtle, nor a
more rich Oblation will they ask.

Even a little Barley and some Granes of Salt upon
their Altars lay'd by pure and guiltless Hands oft
prove more prevalent to disarm their Anger than the
most sumtuous Sacrifice.

frequently at her Master's Expense, selecting for that
End the choicest Beasts in his Flocks; or whether she
demanded an Augmentation of her Wages, under Pre-
tense that she had not enough to answer handsomly
those

those religious Expenses. I cou'd willingly suppose this ODE to be compos'd in one of these two Circumstances. If this Conjecture be not true, at least it is very likely, and may set this Piece in a better Light. 'Tis pleasant enough to see an *epicurean* Poet imploy'd in regulating the Devotions of his House-keeper, who seriously believes her Master is actuated by a Spirit of Religion and Piety, whilst he has no other View but his own Interest in retrenching the Expense. In the Notes will be seen the Application of this Sentiment to all the Parts of this ODE, which is very pretty and very ingeniously conducted.

† 2. *Nascente Lunâ.*] Country-women give freely into the exterior Practices of Religion. *Phidyle* might have made it a Scruple to let a single Feast pass without Sacrifice. Every Month furnish'd her with several Occasions; now come the Calends, then the Nones, and anon the Ides; without mentioning the particular Feasts of *Pan*, *Diana*, *Priapus*, and the other rural Divinitys. HORACE, to cut short all these Devotions, which are not to his Taste, permits his House-keeper to sacrifice only at ev'ry New-moon, and prescribes the Expense she shou'd be at.

† 9. *Nam quæ nivali, &c.*] The Reason, he urges to *Phidyle* for moderating her pious Profusions, is that the Presents made to the Gods ought to be proportion'd to the Station and Abilitys of ev'ry one; that a Distinction shou'd be made between public Sacrifices and those of private Persons. The Reason is just, but very artful in the Use the Poet makes of it, as he thereby covers his real Intention.

† 15. *Parvos Deos.*] This is said by Opposition to what precedes. Pontifs sacrifice to the tutelar Gods of *Rome*, of their Country, of the Empire, Victims fatten'd in the best Pasturages; but for you, who have only petty Gods, that is domestic or rural Gods, who but preside over a small Country-seat, 'tis sufficient to crown 'em with Myrtle and Rosemary. It appears to me that HORACE wou'd have *Phidyle* understand him in this Sense, but at the same Time I believe he had

had a mental Reservation, and intended at Bottom by Favor of the equivocal Term to divert himself at the Expense of those little Gods. This cou'd Raillery cou'd not be ill-plac'd for an *Epicurean*.

* 17. *Immunis aram, &c.*] These four Verses have very much imbarra's'd the Interpreters, but spite of all the Efforts they have made to illustrate 'em, I venture to affirm that HORACE has not hitherto been well explan'd: They have pretended that *Immunis manus* signifys here an *empty Hand*, which offers neither Victim nor Incense, and that *si* is for *etiam si*, Dr. Bentley adds that *sumtuosa hostia* is in the Nominative. Of these three Things the two last only serve to perplex the Construction, which without 'em is very regular, and makes very fine Sense, as shall be seen immediately; the first is insupportable, and expressly contradicts the Poet's Thought. How can those Hands be say'd to be empty which offer to the Gods Barley, Salt, Incense, First-fruits and a Pig? For, all this he allows to his House-keeper. Such a Contradiction can't be plac'd to HORACE's Account. We must therefore take *immunis* in some other Sense, and I find none more natural than what Mr. Dacier, Mr. Coste, and Dr. Bentley have rejected. *Immunis*, say they, can never signify *innocent, pure*; and has never been us'd in that Sense. To refute this Decision taken by our Critics from *Casaubon*, I shall content my self with two Instances from *Pliny*, which prove directly the contrary. This Author says in his 17th Book, Chap. 37, *Caprificus omnibus immunis est, quæ adhuc diximus, the Wildfig-tree is exempt from all the Accidents we have mention'd*: and we find further in his 26 B. c. 2, *Oculis tantum immunibus, the Eyes are only free from this Evil*. In both Examples *immunis* is put alone, *vitiis* being understood in the former, and *mali* or *malo* in the latter. HORACE then might well say in the same Manner *manus immunis*, understanding *vitiis* or *sceleris*; and he must have done so, since otherwise he wou'd contradict himself. Taking this for granted, thus I range the Construction of these four Verses, according

to the Sense I have given 'em in the Translation. *Si tua manus aram immunis tetigit, non blandior molliuerit aversos Penates cum sumtuosâ hostia, quàm cum farre pio & saliente micâ.* Tho' this seems to be address'd only

C A R M E N III.

Fictâ palinodiâ Deorum providentiam prorsus evertit.

L. 1.
• 34•

PARCUS Deorum cultor & infrequens,
Infanientis dum sapientiæ

Consultus erro ; nunc retrorsum

Vela dare, atque iterare cursus

5 Cogor relectos. Namque Diespiter

Igni corusco nubila dividens

Plerumque per purum tonantes

Egit equos volucremque currum ;

Quo bruta tellus & vaga flumina,

10 Quo Styx, & invisi horrida Tænari

Sedes, Atlanteusque finis

Concutitur. Valet ima summis

Mutare, & insignia adtenuat Deus,

Obscura promens : hinc apicem rapax

15 Fortuna cum stridore acuto

Sustulit, hîc posuisse gaudet.

R E M A R K S

only to *Phidyle*, yet it may very well be consider'd as a moral Sentence pronounc'd in general which nobly terminates this little Piece.

O D E I I I.

He destroys the Providence of the Gods, whilst he
pretends to establish it.

TO the Errors of a frantic Philosophy abandon'd
I have hitherto neglected to pay the Gods their
due Adoration. Now am I forc'd to turn my Sails
and backwards trace the Course I blindly ran.

I can forbear no longer to avow that the writhen
Bolt is almost always the Instrument of *Jove's* kindled
Vengeance. Yes, 'tis this awful God who rends the
Clouds with flashing Fires, 'tis he who impels his
thund'ring Coursers thro' the Air, rapt by their Speed
his radiant Chariot flies, whilst the whole Frame of
Nature shrinks beneath. Then Earth's enormous
Mass feels strong Convulsions; the wand'ring Floods
are troubled in their Course; from End to End the
stedfast *Atlas* quakes; the *Hygian* Sound and odious
Tænarus dreadful Recess of conscious Ghosts are fill'd
with Horror at the Blaze of Day.

Let us speak seriously. The Gods can, when they
will, abase one and exalt another, eclipse the most
dazzling Glory and raise Merit from Obscurity into
the fairest Point of Light; — I grant it. — But I know
too that they always discharge themselves of this Care
by throwing it upon Fortune, who with a clatt'ring
Noise tares away the Pinnacle of Honors from one
House and transports it to another; without any other
Reason but the Pleasure of gratifying her own capri-
cious Humor.

REMARKS on ODE III.

HERE HORACE avows the fundamental Tenet of *Epicurus's* Morals, which he gave us some slight Touches of in the preceding ODES. Persuaded of the fortuitous Creation of Beings and the Mortality of the Soul this Philosopher look'd upon the Gods as fine Chimæras, whom out of a political Conformity to Custom he seem'd outwardly to regard, whilst he laugh'd at 'em in his Heart. Our Poet, probably press'd by some *Stoics*, makes a Shew of abjuring his former Opinion. But unable to play the Counterfeit long, his pretended Conversion quickly appears pure Drollery. Such is the whole Design of this Piece, which contains great Beautys in Miniature. The principal One is his Art of keeping the Reader's Mind in Suspense to the very End, wherein he has so happily succeeded that even Men of Letters have been deceiv'd. We shall see in the Notes that the Artifice was not so difficult to unravel. The Poet certainly does not speak of a real Conversion. He appears here more an *Epicurean* than ever. The Conclusion, where he assumes a serious Tone; the Weakness of the Reasons he brings for his Conviction; and his visible Affectation of using equivocal Expressions sufficiently shew the three first Strophes to be one continu'd Irony.

✧ 1. *Parcus & infrequens.*] As the *Epicureans* acknowledged no Gods, their Conformity to the religious Worship, which the Credulity of People had establish'd, was only exterior and meer Grimace. Hence spring the Expressions *parcus & infrequens*. What Men do contrary to Sentiment and only for Form's Sake they do superficially, *parcè*, and as seldom as they can, *infrequenter*.

✧ 2. *Insanientis Sapientiæ.*] According to the *Stoics* *Epicurus's* Doctrin was Madness *insania*, according to the *Epicureans* it was Wisdom *sapientia*. He has pleasantly join'd these two Words, which seem to destroy each other. I must still remark one Thing, which

which helps on the Ambiguity and Suspense, and that is, that *sapientia* signifys *Wisdom* and *Philosophy*. The *Epicurean* might take it in the first Sense, and the *Stoic* in the second. Thus both might find their Account in it.

¶ 4. *Iterare cursus relictos*.] The Metaphor is drawn from a Traveller, who perceiving he has taken one Road for another, immediately returns till he arrives at the Point where his Mistake began. *Relictos cursus iterare* is for *relegendo cursus iterare*. So *Virgil* has said *flexos arcus incurvare*, for *flectendo*.

The Editions and Manuscripts have *relictos*; but this Reading is not a whit the less defective on that Account. *Cursus relictus* is not *Latin*, nor does it form any Sense. The Latins indeed have said *Cursum intermittere*, *cursum desinere*; but never did they say *cursum relinquere*. This Manner of Speaking is absolutely improper and without Example. But tho' we shou'd suppose that HORACE has spoken correctly, we shou'd still want to know what Road that was he formerly walk'd in, and then quitted and now desir'd to regain, for that is the precise Meaning of *iterare cursus relictos*. This Road cou'd only be the Philosophy of *Zeno*, the Sect of the *Stoics*. Now to prove that HORACE was ever attach'd to that Sect is impossible, as we have seen in his Life. So, turn which Way we will, the common Reading is not to be supported. *Dan. Heinsius* by the Change of a single Letter first clear'd all the Difficulty of the Text, and *Dr. Bentley* has follow'd him.

¶ 5. *Namque Diespiter, &c.*] Nothing can surpass the Magnificence of these two Strophes. HORACE has giv'n 'em that Dress on purpose to impose the better. A *Stoic* imagins that the Force of Persuasion furnishes the Poet with such noble Images, pompous Cadences, lively Expressions. Nothing less than that. The whole amounts to an equivocal Proof wrap'd in the Cover of fine Language, &c.; and the Weakness of the Proof shou'd at least create a Suspicion that the Cover is only a Lure, and that his Conversion is still at a great Distance.

tance. *Lucretius* has shewn at large that Thunder must be the Effect of natural Causes, and that Superstition is very silly to draw an Argument from it in Favor of Providence.

‡ 7. *Per purum.*] Understand *Aera*. Able Interpreters have mistaken this Passage. *Virgil* has say'd like *HORACE*, *georg.* 2. ‡ 364.

Dum se latus ad auras

Palmes agit, laxis per purum immissus habenis.

But *HORACE* uses this Term for a Veil to shroud his Thought. *Per purum* may signify simply *the Air*, as in *Virgil*; or an unclouded serene Sky. The Poet reserves to himself the first Sense, and offers the second to the *Stoics*. It were hardly possible to preserve the double Sense in a Translation.

I cannot agree with *Blondel* and Mr. *Dacier* in their Conjectures that *HORACE* intended to express the Opinion of the *Stoics* in these two Verses,

Plerumque per purum tonantes

Egit equos volucremque currum,

in Order to oppose it to that of the *Epicureans* contain'd in the preceding Verse

Diæspiter

Igni cornusco nubila dividens.

This is evidently to force the natural Sense of this Passage, which does not of itself present two different Thoughts. If *HORACE* had design'd to mark this Distinction, he shou'd have made it more visible, as it was easy for him to do by writing *per sudum*, which had remov'd ev'ry Difficulty. The Verse too wou'd have been more beautiful, by avoiding the disagreeable Consonance of *purum* with *currum*, which are not far asunder. What deceiv'd these two learned Men, after all the Interpreters I have read, is that they understood precisely by these Words *per purum* a clear Air; *sudo celo*; *serena tempestate*. We have seen that there is no Necessity to confine ourselves to that Signification, which creates all the Perplexity of the Passage. The Opposition between the Sentiment of the *Epicureans* and that of the *Stoics* is not therefore where they pretend

tend to find it. Hence it's apparent that it's not necessary to put a Comma after *plerumque*, and to join it in Construction with *dividens*. The Meaning I have given to *per purum* renders the Discovery of that Stop, for which some Critics imagin'd they merited Thanks, absolutely useless.

¶ 12. *Valet ima summis, &c.*] This is as it were the Unravelling of the Piece. The Poet having for a while personated the *Stoic*, plucks off the Mask, and shews himself in his proper Character, that is to say, a true *Epicurean*. He acknowledges Gods, he did not chuse to speak otherwise, he ascribes omnipotent Power to them; however not to trouble their Indolence he abandons all Events to the Caprice of *Fortune*. I must further observe an affected Ambiguity here in the Word *Deus*. The *Stoic* must naturally refer it to *Diespiter*; but in the Idea of an *epicurean* Poet, the only God capable of Action is *Nature*, who by a fortuitous Jumble of Atoms produces all that happens in the Universe. This Expression *ima summis mutare* is equivalently double, because it involves this also *mutare imis summa*.

¶ 13. *Insignia*.] This Correction is, in my Opinion, one of the happiest Conjectures of Mr. Cuningham. *Insignia* answers perfectly well to *obscura*, as *summa* to *ima*; all these Names are of the same Gender and Number: which can be said neither of *insignem* which appears in the Manuscripts and Editions, nor of *insigne* which Dr. Bentley has drawn from a single old Copy; the first Transcribers or Grammarians, were no doubt startled to find *insignia*, which is of four Syllables, where the Measure of the Verse requir'd but three; and this produc'd the two Alterations mention'd. But a little Reflexion upon the Licenses admitted into Poetry wou'd have preserv'd the Text in it's Purity. The *Latin* Poets have frequently united *i* and *a* in one Syllable in the same Word, as we see it in *windemiator*, *semiadapertus*. And if Examples be requir'd intirely like this, *Lucretius* and *Virgil* will furnish them in *omnia* of two Syllables, and *Statius* in *tenuia* of three.

‡ 14. *Hinc apicem rapax, &c.*] A very charming and very poetic Image, says Mr. *Dacier*. I add that in these three last Verses alone the Poet declares for *Epicurus* without any Disguise.

‡ 16.

C A R M E N IV.

A D M Æ C E N A T E M.

Divitias malorum omnium fontem esse, summum vitæ
bonum in mediocritate consistere.

L. 3.
O. 16.

INCLUSAM Danaen turris aenea,
Robustæque fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris ;
5 Si non Acrisium virginis abditæ
Custodem pavidum Juppiter ac Venus
Rississent : fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Converso in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
10 Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentiùs
Ictu fulmineo. Concidit auguris
Argivi domus, ob lucrum
Demerla exitio. Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos
15 Reges muneribus. Munera navium
Sævos illaqueant duces.

Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam,
Majorumque fames. Jure perhorruì
Latè conspicuum tollere verticem,
20 Mæcenas, equitum decus.

Quanto

† 16. *Gaudet.*] The whole Design and whole Force of the ODE are collected in this Word, which gives the finishing Stroke to *Stoicism*. *Fortune* sov'reinly decides of all, and *her* own good Pleasure is her only Rule.

ODE IV.

TO MÆCENAS.

That Riches are the Source of all Evil, and that the supreme Felicity of Life consists in a Mediocrity.

A TOWER of Brass, Gates of impenetrable Oak, and a formidable Gard of vigilant Mastiffs were, one wou'd think, sufficient to preserve the recluse *Danae* from midnight Revels and Intrigues of Love.

But amorous *Jove* and gentle *Venus* laugh'd at the timorous Precautions of her jealous Sire. They knew that to a God converted into Gold nothing was inaccessible, that ev'ry Obstacle must fall before him.

Gold can compass ev'ry End. More subtil than Lightning, more impetuous than Thunder, it slips thro' the strongest Gards, it pierces the hardest Rocks. The Avarice of *Eriphyle* was the Source of all the Mischiefs which like a Deluge swept away the House of *Amphiaräus*. Arm'd with golden Wedges the *macedonian* Hero never found or Citys impregnable or Kings invincible. Money has Charms to sooth the savage Breast even of Sea Commanders.

Black Care attends increasing Pelf.—Care of too much and Thirst for more. O *Mæcenas*, whose Ambition has not soar'd above the Rank of *roman* *Knight-hood*, and who art it's greatest Ornament, had not I Reason then to dread the shining Pomp of an exalted Station.

Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
 Ab Dis plura feret. Nil cupientium
 Nudus castra peto ; & transfuga divitum
 Partes linquere gestio ;
 25 Contemtæ dominus splendidior rei,
 Quàm si quidquid arat non piger Appulus
 Occultare meis dicerer horreis,
 Magnas inter opes inops.

Puræ rivus aquæ, sylvaque jugerum
 30 Paucorum, & segetis certa fides meæ,
 Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ
 Fallit sorte beatior.
 Quamquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
 Nec Læstrygoniâ Bacchus in amphorâ
 35 Languescit mihi, nec pinguis Gallicis
 Crescunt vellera pascuis ;

Importuna tamen pauperies abest :
 Nec si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
 Contracto meliùs parva cupidine
 40 Vestigalia colligam,
 Quàm si Mygdoniis regnum Alyatteï
 Campis continuem. Multa petentibus
 Desunt multa. Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
 Parcâ quod satis est manu.

REMARKS on ODE IV.

ADMIRERS of Method will find it here. Riches are the Source of Evil, an honest Mediocrity is productive of Good, happy therefore the Man content-ed with the latter : this is in short the whole Design and Conduct of the ODE. Nothing can be more just nor more closely persu'd. The Morality and Satire dispers'd thro' all the Parts season it to our Palates. Mr. Dacier thinks HORACE's principal Scope is

Ode IV. HORACE'S ODES.

III

The Bounty of Heav'n grows in Proportion to the Diminution of our craving Appetites. Divested of ev'ry covetous Affection I gladly desert the Party of the Great, to list among the humble few who are from Desires free: more glorious in the Possession of my little All which I never solicited for, than if I had the whole Harvest of *Apulia* snug in my Granarys; to be like most of our Grandees, ever indigent amidst Abundance.

With a Fountain of pure Water, a few Acres of Wood, and a small Farm ever true to my Hopes, I have enough to undeceive the Proconsul of *Afric*, who imagins himself happier than Me.

Calabria indeed does not furnish me with it's excellent Honey, I have none of the exquisit Wines of *Formia* mellowing in my Hogsheads, the Flocks which graze on *gallic* Planes enrich not Me with their golden Fleeces:

But from the Inconveniences of Want I live secure; and did I wish for more, I know, *Mæcenas*, You wou'd grant it readily. Thus bounding my Desires I shall my petty Revenues collect with greater Pleasure, than if I were of fertile *Phrygia* King, and cou'd annex all *Lydia* to my Empire. The more We demand, the more We feel our Indigence. Happy the Man, who without importuning the Gods, has from their wise Indulgence just enough receiv'd to live upon with Honor.

to thank *Mæcenas* for the *Villa* he had given him, and to assure him that he esteem'd himself happier in the Possession of that small Estate, than if he had prefer'd him to the Government of the richest Provinces. This I think highly probable. The Poet's Address in heightn'ing by Ornaments a Subject not great in itself adds Beautys to the Piece consider'd in this Light.

¶ 2. *Robustæque fores.*] From *robur*, which signifies an Oak the *Latins* have said *robustus* & *robustus*, for *roboreus* or *roburneus*. In *Plautus* We find *carcer robustus*,

bustus, and in *Festus arcae robustæ*. HORACE instead of saying the Walls and Gates of this Prison were very strong, says the Walls were of Brass, and the Gates of Oak. The Materials of both are specify'd, a Distinction, which does not appear in the Sentiment of those, who take *robustæ* for *firmæ*, *munitæ*. Besides, in another Place the Poet joins these two Terms in the same Sense, when he says, *illi robur & æs triplex circa pectus erat*. And Ovid says in the fifth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, § 120 :

Raptaque de dextro robusta repagula poste

Ossibus illidit mediæ cervicis : At ille

Procubuit terræ, macerati more juvenci.

Demere tentabat lævi quoque robora possis, &c.

§ 6. *Juppiter ac Venus.*] Most beautiful is this Contrast. On one Side, *Acrisus* diffident, uneasy, vigilant, takes the best Measures he can think of, to bar all Access to his Daughter ; on the other, *Jupiter* and *Venus* calm, contented, sure of their Stroke, laugh at all the Precautions of the Father. After *fore enim* We must understand *sciebant*. *Aurum*, *pecunia*, *pretium*, *lucrum* & *munera* are here the same Thing.

§ 13. *Exitio.*] They who read *demersa excidio* join two metaphoric Terms together which are self-contradictory and can form no Beauty here. Besides *exitio* is found in the greatest Number of the best Manuscripts, *neque aliter plures & potiores codices*, says Dr. Bentley. Wherefore that Critic has made no Difficulty to restore this Reading, and Mr. Cuningam cou'd not help following him.

§ 15. *Æmulos reges.*] The Kings of *Thrace*, *Pæonia* and *Illyricum* were *Philip's* Corrivals.

Munera navium, &c.] It has been the Remark of all Ages that Seamen as well as Watermen, Smiths, and Wood-cutters have something rough and fierce in their Humor and Manners. Sea-Officers have even sometimes enough to do, to guard themselves from this Contagion, spite of the Politeness they have acquir'd from Education, the World and the Court. But I don't know if HORACE does not exaggerate, when he

he represents them as the most cruel and intractable of all Men. Perhaps his sole Intent is to lash at some Captains of Ships, who had not acted up to their Duty in some Engagements; at least it were not difficult to find Instances enow of such in the late Wars.

† 19. *Tollere verticem.*] HORACE of himself had no Right of aspiring to high Things; but yet the Favor of *Mæcenæ*s cou'd have procur'd him considerable Advantages. He took a wiser Course, he quitted *partes divitum*, the Party of insatiate, importunate Courtiers, and rang'd himself among those who moderate their Desires, *nil cupientium*, imitating herein his illustrious Protector; who, tho' he cou'd have pretended to the first Offices of the Republic and was the Dispenser of his Prince's Favors, contented himself with the Rank of a roman Knight. * A new Commentator gives high Praise to HORACE's Moderation here, which he thinks as admirable as that of *Mæcenæ*s. Their Births, says he, were nearly equal; they were both of a distinguish'd Family, the one in *Tuscany*, the other in *Pontus*, and when HORACE says that he does not ambitiously solicit the first Posts of Honor, he sufficiently shews they were due to his Quality; but that his Modesty restrain'd him from prosecuting his just Pretensions. *Quum ait se nolle verticem tollere, innuit se esse magnâ apud suos stirpe, quam tamen non vult ostentare. Erat magna Mæcenatem inter & Horatium similitudo. Ex Etruriâ ille, hic ex Ponto erat oriundus.* Is this a Particularity of History or an Invention of Romance? Indeed neither. Truth is evidently wounded in it, and he has not even preserv'd a Color of Probability. See the Life of HORACE.

† 22. *Ab Dis.*] Such is the Reading of almost all the Manuscripts, and of seven of the most ancient Editions. The *Latins* also say'd *ab Jove*, *ab legato*, *ab re*, *ab rege*, *ab se*, *ab condito ævo*, *ab duobus stadiis*, *ab gente*, *ab Veis*.

* *John du Hamel.*

Nil

Nil cupientium, &c.] This is as a Conclusion from the Proposition of the preceding Verse, where *sibi* stands for *cupiditati, avaritiæ*.

¶ 25. *Contemptæ rei.*] This also has a natural Connexion with what goes before. We despise what we don't condescend to sue for. But 'tis glorious to possess what we don't owe to our Solicitations and Persutes. This I think the true Sense of the Passage which had never imbarra's'd Interpreters but for want of attending to the Poet's Reas'ning.

¶ 28. *Magnas inter opes inops.*] Nothing more ordinary than this Poverty in the midst of Abundance. 'Tis Avarice in some, in others Prodigality. A Man contented with a middling Fortune is ignorant of these two contrary Extremes, which but too well agree in this that they render the Profuse and the Avaricious equally miserable.

¶ 30. *Segetis fides.*] See the Notes on the 43 ¶ of the ODE, *Altera jam teritur.* This Passage is not easy to explaine, and I am not surpris'd to see Interpreters so imbarra's'd to get clear of it. The whole Difficulty consists in rightly conceiving the Force of the Terms, and disintangling the Construction. In the first Place these three Nominatives *rivus, sylva* and *fides* relate in common to the Verb *fallit*, tho' it be in the singular Number. They who are acquainted with HORACE's Stile know he seldom speaks otherwise. Secondly, *Africa* is govern'd by *imperio* and *sorte*. *Fulgens imperio Africa* is a Paraphrase, instead of saying *the Proconsul of Afric*; and *sors Africa* signifys the *Proconsulat*, that is *the Government of this Province*. The *Latins* have in the same Sense say'd *sors Asia, sors Macedonia, sors provinciarum*, because these Governments were given by Lot. Thirdly, *fallit* does not here signify *latet, ignoratur*; but *opinionem suam decipit*. This being suppos'd I think the Construction shou'd be rang'd thus: *ager meus Sabinus beatior Africam sorte obtenta fallit Africæ proconsulem*. The *Proconsul* of this rich Province was indebted to Lot for his Magistracy, HORACE ow'd his petty Territory to the Friendship of

of *Mæcnas*. The Proconsul imagin'd himself happier than HORACE, and he was mistaken. Why? because he was ignorant that to have vast Revenues and to be happy are frequently two very different Things. Perhaps our Poet's Intention was to give a Lash to the Person who was then Governor of *Afric*, and who, as well as He, ow'd his Fortune to *Mæcnas*.

¶ 40. *Vestigalia*.] This Word signifies *Revenues* here, and is in that Sense good *Latin*. In the *Satire quæ virtus & quanta, boni*, HORACE has imploy'd it in the same Manner.

Colligam.] I don't know whether I shall be pardon'd for changing *porrigam* into *colligam*. Reason alone has furnish'd me with this Correction, which gives this Thought a sensible Connexion with what goes before and what follows. The *Grammarians* have taken *vestigalia* in it's most ordinary Signification for *Taxes* levy'd by public Authority; which being quite unsuitable to HORACE, they thought, no doubt, they ought to read *porrigam* instead of *colligam*.

¶ 41. *Alyattei*.] This is the right Reading. *Faber* propos'd this Correction in his *Treasure*. Dr. *Bentley* and Mr. *Cuningam* have receiv'd it into the Text. *Alyattici*, which appears in the Editions is no more *Latin* than *Achillicus*, *Oresticus* or *Bellerophonticus*, &c. 'Tis even doubted whether it can be found in any one ancient Manuscript. The *Latins* have read *Alyattes*, *Alyattis* or *Alyattei*; as *Achilles*, *Achillis* or *Achillei*; *Ulysses*, *Ulyssis* or *Ulyssai*.

CARMEN V.

AD FONTEM DIGENTIAM.

Fonti sacrificium & ab versibus suis celebritatem
spondet.

L. 3. O FONS Bandusæ, splendidior vitro,
O. 13. Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis hædo;
Cui frons turgida cornibus
5 Primis & Venerem & prælia destinat,
Frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
Rubro sanguine rivos
Lascivi soboles gregis.

Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ
10 Nescit tangere: tu frigus amabile
Fessis vomere tauris
Præbes, & pecori vago.

Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
15 Saxis, unde loquaces
Lymphæ defiliunt tuæ.

REMARKS on ODE V.

A Beautiful Fountain upon the Estate of a great Poet has a Right to be crown'd with Immortality. *Digentia* cou'd not fail of being so, as it belong'd to the first lyric Poet of *Rome*. Whilst the Name of *HORACE* survives, that is, whilst fine Poetry shall be had in Honor, the Name of *Digentia* shall be rank'd with those of *Castalia*, *Hippocrene*, *Aganippe* and *Arethusa*; and Men of Taste will with
Pleasure.

O D E V.

TO THE FOUNTAIN OF *DIGENTIA*.

He promises to offer a Sacrifice to this Fountain and to immortalise it by his Verses.

O FOUNTAIN of *Bandusia* than Chrystal more transparent, thou dost my greatest Homage merit, and the next Sun shall see me pay the sacred Debt. Libations Thou shalt have of sweetest Wine; the Goblets shall be crown'd with fragrant Flowers. A tender Kid I destin for thy Victim, who proud to feel his Horns already budding meditates the lusty Leap and hardy Combat; in vane, for, a few Hours hence, the little Wanton shall paint thy freezing Waters with his crimson Blood.

Thou dost defy the Dog-star's Fury, his Breath when kindled to it's Height can't penetrate thy living surface: to my Oxen spent with Labor, to the Flocks which graze in my Vallys Thou a delicious liquid Snow dost ever yield.

I'll also sing the charming Groves that shades the hollow Rocks from which thou dost thy prattling Streams agreeably precipitate; and among the most illustrious Fountains my Verses shall give thee Rank.

Pleasure behold it's Memory consecrated in this little Piece, where all is fraught with that rural Amenity which peculiarly charms the Imagination.

‡ 1. *Fons Bândusia.*] This is the Reading of the old Scholiast, of Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Bentley* and Mr. *Cunningham*, taken from the best Manuscripts, and it cou'd scarcely proceed from any Hand but the Author's. For if the first Copyers or Grammarians had found *Blandusia*, it never cou'd have come into their Heads to change it into *Bandusia*, which has no Affinity with
the.

the *latin* Tongue, and is apparently a *sabin* Word. On the contrary, 'tis quite natural to believe that *Bandusia* is in their own Way, because they imagin'd, says Dr. Bentley, that HORACE wou'd chuse to give a pretty Name to his Fountain. It was call'd *Digentia* and ran across the Country of *Bandusia*.

§ 4. *Cui frons turgida cornibus, &c.*] This Passage is rich in Charms. Nothing can be more lively, nothing more natural. *Venerem* & *prælia* are perhaps but one Idea divided into two; to unite 'em we must understand *Veneris prælia*.

§ 8. *Soboles.*] I don't know why some Critics obstinately maintain the Writing of *Suboles*. I grant the Etymo-

CARMEN VI.

A. U. C. Dccxxi.

AD ROMANOS,

bellum civile redintegrantes.

L. 7.
Od. 7.

Quò quò, scelesti ruitis? ecquid dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?

Parumne campis atque Neptuno super

Fusum est Latini sanguinis?

5 Non ut superbas invidæ Carthaginis

Romanus arces ureret;

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet

Sacrà catenatus viâ:

Sed ut, secundùm vota Parthorum, suâ

10 Urbs hæc periret dexterâ.

Neque

Etymology requires it, but the Manuscripts vary. This Change was not introduc'd by the Caprice of Custom. They were willing to distinguish the Verb and the Noun; *suboles* remain'd for the first, and they form'd *soboles* for the second. I am of Opinion We cannot refuse this Right to Custom, especially in a Language which was still a living One at the Time of establishing the Difference.

† 14. *Impositam ilicem saxis.*] This is still true at this Day, as *Cluverius* saw it upon the Spot. A Part of this Grove, which encompass'd the Fountain was call'd the Wood of *Vacuna*, because this Goddess had a Chapel there.

O D E VI.

TO THE ROMANS,

to divert 'em from the civil War.

WHITHER do Ye run, Ye Sons of Sedition,
whither do Ye madly run? Why draw Ye
the murd'ring Steel anew, which Peace had kindly
sheath'd?

Are not the Fields and blushing Seas already dy'd
too deep with *roman* Blood?

Yet—had this Blood been spilt, as in the Days of
your Fathers, in reducing to Ashes the haughty
Tow'rs of corival CARTHAGE; or in forcing the
Britons 'till then Strangers to the Effort of our Arms
to wear our Chains and swell our Triumphs! — But
no — all our Wars serve only to second the Wishes
of the *Parthians*, in making ROME a Sacrifice to
ROME.

Ev'n

Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus;
Numquam, nisi in dispar, feris.

Furorne cæcos, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa? Responsum date . . .

15 Tacent: & albus ora pallor inficit;
Mentesque percussæ stupent.

Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelusque fraternæ necis:

20 Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

REMARKS on ODE VI.

THIS ODE was compos'd about the End of the Year 721, a little before *Octavian* and *Antony* came to an open Rupture. The Stile is spirited and nervous. The Poet's Design is to represent to both Partys the Horrors of their criminal Diffensions, which threaten'd their common Country with a total Ruin. Uncertain of the Event he speaks with Reserve.

✧ 2. *Enses conditi.*] Peace had sheath'd their Swords ever since the Death of *Sextus Pompey*, that is for above two Years.

✧ 3. *Neptuno super.*] This must imbarraß those who chuse the Year 716 for the Date of this Piece. There was no Action on the Sea before that Year, in which the Peace was broke with *Sextus Pompey*. But from 716 to 720 there were rough Ingagements between the two Fleets, wherein Numbers perish'd on both Sides.

✧ 9. *Partiborum.*] From the Defeat of *Crassus* in 701, these People had not ceas'd to be at War with the *Romans*, who by their civil Broils confirm'd and in some sort perpetuated the Victory of their Enemies.

Ev'n Wolves and Lions are to gentler Thoughts inclin'd, nor ever exercise their Rage but upon Animals of another Species.

Is it Madness? Is it Fatality? or rather the Anger of Heav'n that strikes You with Blindness and transports You to the Punishment of Your own Crimes? Speak, Answer . . .

. . . Their Guilt can find no Answer. Paleness shrouds their Looks and Horror stupifys their Minds.

It is a Doubt no longer: The Blood of *Remus* shed by a Brother's Hands crys still aloud for Vengeance on his Race, and on our Heads draws down the Indignation of the Gods.

§ 11. *Neque hic lupis mos, &c.*] The Construction is *neque hic mos fuit lupis neque leonibus, qui numquam ferunt nisi in dispar genus*. I read *numquam*, after three famous Critics. The natural Sense of the Phrase requires it. As to the rest, HORACE's Way of arguing makes a glossy Shew in Poetry: but it is very apparent it cou'd make no great Impression on the Minds of the Romans. Such Topics of Morality drawn from the Conduct of Beasts, have nothing conclusive against that of Man. They may be eluded by a Stroke of Pleasantry, or seriously attack'd by contrary Examples.

§ 13. *Furoræ cæcos, &c.*] Dr. Bentley and Mr. Cuningam agree to receive *cæcos* in the Place of *cæcus*. *Torrentius* had approv'd of this Correction before, which ceases to be a simple Conjecture by the Authority of four Manuscripts. It is not probable that the Copyers wou'd take it in their Heads to write *cæcos* immediately after *furor*; whereas *furor* must naturally have suggested *cæcos* to them as a very fit and very common Epithet. The Reading I have follow'd is therefore well supported. It remains to clear up the Sense of the Text which has perplex'd some Interpreters. I refer *cæcos rapit* in common to *furor*, to *vis acrior*, and

and to *culpa*; and it appears to me that the Poet attributes the Blindness of the *Romans* either to an Excess of Fury which transports them, or to the Ascendant of Destiny which predominates over them, or to the Vengeance of the Gods which pursues them. But his Address and Policy are conspicuous. He knew that the Ambition of the two Chiefs was the true Cause of these Diffensions. This he conceals out of Respect to both, as he ought equally to dread their Displeasure.

¶ 15. *Albus ora pallor inficit.*] The ordinary Reading is *Ora pallor albus inficit.* The Difference is only in the Arrangement of the Words. That which I have chosen

CARMEN VII.

AD LEUCONOEN.

Abjiciendam crastini sollicitudinem, hodie vivendum.

L. I.
O. II.

TU ne quæsieris (scire nefas) quem mihi,
quem tibi
Finem Dî dederint, Leuconoë; neu Babylonios
Tentaris numeros. Ut melius, quidquid erit, pati!

Seu plures hyemes, seu tribuit Juppiter ultimam,
5 Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrenum, sapias, vina liques, & spatio brevi
Spem longam refeces. Dum loquimur (fugerit
invida
Ætas) carpe diem, quàm minimùm credula pos-
tero.

R E-

chosen renders the Verse more elegant. This Reason wou'd not be sufficient however to make an Alteration in the Text. Three Manuscripts and two of the oldest and best Editions have determin'd me to it, after the Example of *Jodocus Badius*, *Dr. Bentley* and *Mr. Cuningam*.

§ 17. *Sic est*, &c.] After a most pathetic Pause, HORACE adheres to the two last Causes he had mention'd. He imputes the civil Wars therefore to the Destinys *Acerba fata*, and to the Death of *Remus*, *scelus fraternæ necis*; as if the Destinys had condemn'd the Romans to expiate the Fratricide by destroying one another with their own Weapons. This was looking a great Way back, the better to remove the Idea of the real Cause of the present Calamity.

O D E VII.

TO LEUCONOË.

That We shou'd enjoy the present Hour and adjourn
the future Thought.

IN vane wou'd You consult Astrologers, *Leuconœ*,
to discover the Term of your Life or mine. It is
not given to Man to unveil the Mysterys of Fate.
Be rul'd by Me, let Things take their Course, and
make the most you can of all Events.

Whether then *Jupiter* allows You still a long Suc-
cession of Years; or whether this, in which You've
caus'd strong Moles to be thrown into the *tuscan* Sea
to break the Violence of the Waves, must be your
last, if you be wise, You will attend your ordinary
Affairs, and regulate your Hopes by the Shortness of
your Life. Let Time jealous of our Pleasures steal
himself away from Us as fast as he can, this very Mo-
ment whilst I speak to You begin to enjoy the flitting
Day, nor reckon much upon to Morrow.

R E-

REMARKS on ODE VII.

IN all Ages Men have been the Dupes of Superstition. Of the most vane and most ridiculous Kind is that of consulting Astrologers and Fortune-tellers about the Duration of our Lives. *Leuconoe* had this Weakness common to so many others. HORACE finds in the Principles of his Philosophy enough to disabuse her, by shewing her that this pretended Art is arrant Imposture, and that true Wisdom consists rather in injoying Life than in curiously inquiring when it must end. The Piece is very good, and includes a great deal of Sense in a small Number of Verses.

‡ 1. *Scire nefas.*] That is, it is not possible to know the Term of our Lives. This Reason alone shou'd baffle our Curiosity. What Madness is it to torment ourselves about the Discovery of what is impenetrable to our Knowledg! *stultum est timere quod vitare non potes*, says an ancient *Mimographer*.

‡ 2. *Babylonios numeros.*] The People of this Country were strongly infatuated with judicial Astrology; and made use of *Ephemerides* for erecting their Figures and calculating Days and Months. HORACE calls these astronomic Supputations *numeros Babylonios*.

‡ 3. *Ut melius, &c.*] Some Commentators have found in the Explication of this Passage more Difficulty than there is really in it. The whole Mystery is reduc'd to Ellipsis of the Verb *est*, frequent enough in Poetry. This Construction is, *ut melius est, quanto melius est pati quidquid erit!* Nothing is more reasonable than what HORACE says here. It is better in all Respects to discharge ourselves of the Care of Life by casting it on Nature, than to depend on the silly Predictions of an Impostor.

‡ 5. *Quæ nunc oppositis, &c.*] 'Tis well known that the Romans were very curious of having Houses of Pleasure on the Coasts of *Campania* along the *tuscan* Sea. *Cicero* had at the least three; and *Lucullus* as many. Historians tell us besides of those of *Pompey*,
Caesar,

Cæsar, Vedius Pollio, Hortensius, Piso, Servilius Variæ, Pollius, &c. Why might not *Leuconœ* be in the Number? Upon this Footing our Poet might caution her very *à propos* against informing herself whether that Year in which she was building a fine House at a great Expense shou'd be the last of her Life. This Explication more closely connects the two disjunctive Propositions of the fourth and fifth Verse with the Subject of the Piece, and makes the Parenthesis disappear, which wou'd be a little too long for so short an ODE. See the Dissertation of *Monfieur l'Abbe Couture* upon this Place.

¶ 6. *Sapias.*] For *Si sapias*, as I have translated it. *Ovid* says the same: *quod tibi miscuerit, sapias, bibat ipse iubeto.*

Vina liques.] Strain your Wine, that is, continue your ordinary Occupations. 'Tis HORACE's Manner to represent the Genus by the Species.

Spatio brevi, &c.] That is *pro brevi spatio vitæ, quoniam angustum est vitæ spatium.* Measure your Hopes upon the short Space of your Life, don't extend 'em beyond it.

¶ 7. *Fugerit invida ætas.*] Interpreters translate it, *envious Time is now retiring from us.* The Turn I have taken renders the Sense of *fugerit* much better, which is say'd here by Way of Concession and gives quite another Grace to the Poet's Thought.

¶ 8. *Carpe diem.*] *Carpere* is say'd of Flowers or Fruits that are gather'd *en passant* and without stopping, and so comes wonderfully well in after *fugerit invida ætas* in the Sense I have given it. Ev'ry Day is like a delicate, short-liv'd Flow'r, which fades if we delay never so little to pluck it. HORACE finishes with this Counsil, to which he seems to reduce all others.

CARMEN VIII.

A. U. C. DCCXXII.

AD AMPHORAM.

Monet ut in Messalæ gratiam vinum promat generosum.

E. 3.
O. 21.

O NATA mecum, consule Manlio,
 Seu tu querelas, five geris jocos,
 Seu rixam & insanos amores,
 Seu facilem, pia Testa, somnum :

5 Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum
 Servas, moveri digna bono die ;
 Descende, Corvino jubente
 Promere languidiora vina.

Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
 10 Sermonibus, te negliget horridus.
 Narratur & prisca Catonis
 Sæpè mero caluisse virtus.
 Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
 Plerumque duro : tu sapientium
 15 Curas & arcanum jocofo
 Consilium retegis Lyæo :

Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiiis,
 Viresque ; & addis cornua pauperi,
 Post te neque iratos trementi
 20 Regum apices, neque militum arma.
 Te Liber, & si læta aderit, Venus,
 Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiaë,
 Vivæque producent lucernæ,
 Dum rediens fugat astra Phœbus.

O D E

O D E VIII.

TO HIS BOTTLE.

He desires his Bottle to furnish him with excellent Wine in Favor of *Messala*.

O BOTTLE, dear Object of my Vows, fill'd the Year of my Nativity, in the Consulat of *Manlius*; bearest thou in thy spacious Womb Sadness or Mirth, gentle Sleep or Quarrels the Companions of riotous Amours?

What do I say? The Liquor thou dost inclose was doubtless chosen only for the Production of good Effects. Whatever these may be, thou deservest to appear on a Day of Festivity. Ah what Day can be to me more festive than that on which *Messala* orders Me to regale him with my choicest Wine!

This Hero, imbu'd as he is with the Maxims of *Socrates*, will not be to thy Charms insensible. *Cato*, that rigid Censor, they say, animated his Virtue more than once with the Juice of the Grape.

Thou hast the Charm of soft'ning by an agreeable Violence the most rugged Temper. Thou hast the Secret of unmasking in Sport the Souls of our gravest Magistrates, of discovering their Cares, and of unlocking their Designs.

At thy Approach Strenth succeeds to Weakness, to Despondence Hope, Courage to Timidity. Inspir'd by thy sweet Vapors the meanest Wretch braves the Fury of Kings, he encounters an Army.

Amiable Bottle, *Bacchus* and the Sister-graces conjoin'd by Love's eternal Band will employ their friendly Aid to prolong our Pleasures by the nocturnal Beams of depending Lamps till returning *Phæbus* chase away the Fires of the Night: and if *Venus* be in good Humor, We'll take her into the Party.

REMARKS on ODE VIII.

MESSALA told HORACE he intended to sup with him. HORACE to demonstrate how sensible he was of that Honor, by a poetic and ingenious Fiction intreats his Bottle to furnish the most exquisit Wine for the Entertainment of a Guest of such Consequence, to whom he had been early known in *Brutus's* Army. The Versification is charming, and the Expressions are chosen with Taste. If he had enlarg'd upon the Praises of his Friend, who generously preserv'd *Augustus*, (that had consented to his Proscription,) when he had his Life in his Pow'r before *Taormina*, and who was afterwards created Augur, and Lieutenant to *Agrippa*, I imagin the Piece wou'd have been better for it.

¶ 1. *Nata.*] HORACE does not mean that this Bottle was made in the Consulat of *Manlius*. A Particularity of so little Moment wou'd have been very improperly plac'd here. I am surpriz'd that some ingenious Commentators have not perceiv'd this. A most noble Regale to be sure it wou'd have been for *Messala* to drink Wine out of a Bottle made 33 Years before! Cou'd the Poet indeed mention such a trifling Circumstance with a good Grace? It is of small Importance what Year Bottles are made in, provided the Wine be good. When HORACE therefore addresses himself to his Bottle, he does not speak precisely to the Vessel. He uses a figurative Manner of speaking adopted by Custom. We say ev'ry Day that a Bottle is excellent, to denote the Goodness of the Wine it contains, but we never say of an empty Bottle that it tames the most intractable Tempers, that it sweetens Care, that it unlocks the Mind, that it cheers with fresh Hope, as the Poet speaks here. He therefore uses *nata* for *impleta*, to denote that it was fill'd with Wine during that Consulat. A Bottle is in a Manner born for the Table, *nascitur mensis*, when 'tis fill'd with Wine. It is then that it is fitted to produce

produce all the Effects which the Poet describes with such Variety and in so agreeable a Manner throughout this Piece.

Mecum.] HORACE came to the World on the 8 December 689, in the Consulat of *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* and *Lucius Manlius Torquatus*.

† 2. *Seu tu querelas, &c.*] Here the Poet seems to contradict himself. If this Bottle contains in it's Womb *Pensiveness* and *Quarrels, querelas & rixam*, how can he say that it is a *succoring one, pia testa*; and that it deserves to be drunk on a rejoicing Day, *moveri digna bono die*? Several Interpreters have perceiv'd this Difficulty, but those who have attempted to remove it have given Rise to new ones. I have taken a Method, which I think reconciles the Thoughts, without torturing the Expressions. First then, the three last Verses of the first Quatrain contain a Distribution of the good and bad Effects of Wine. This Distribution regards Wine in general and is express'd in a Way of Suspension and Interrogation: for *seu* is here for *an*, as the Poets have sometimes said *an* for *five*. I have remark'd at least three Instances of it in *Ovid* only. This minute Delicacy of Grammar has escap'd our Commentators in this Place; and yet it is of great Service. I add that the first Verse of the second Strophe includes a Correction, by which the Poet discards the bad Effects of Wine, to speak for the future only of the good ones. In fine the Epithet *pia*, which is join'd to *testa*, enters into the Invocation, and not into the Enumeration; that is to say, it shou'd be refer'd to the first Verse, and not to the three following; it is a flattering Term with which HORACE addresses his Bottle, which he speaks to as to a Divinity. So that we shou'd range the Construction in this Manner à *pia Testa, nata mecum consule Manlio, descende, &c.* I have made all this appear as well as I was able in the Translation. I shou'd be however very glad if the Poet had sav'd Us the Trouble of disentangling his Thoughts.

† 5. *Quocunque lectum nomine.*] Great Obscurity has been thrown upon this Passage by Indeavors to illustrate it. *Legere vinum* has been taken for *grape-gathering*, a Thing never heard of in good Latin. *Nomine* has been also taken for the Name of a Consul. 'Tis ridiculous in HORACE to doubt who this Consul was after having nam'd him in the Beginning of the ODE. Others in short distinguish two Consuls, one of whom denotes the Year in which the Bottle was made, and the other that in which the Vintage was gather'd. I have already overthrown the Foundation of this latter Opinion in my first Note. To destroy both, it will be sufficient to give an Explication of the imbarassing Terms. *Massicum lectum* is the best *Massic Wine*, chosen out of the whole Produce of that famous Vineyard-ground. *Nomen* among the best Authors often signifies the Reason, the Cause, the Effect. HORACE therefore, having spoken in general of the good and bad Effects of Wine in the preceding Strophe begs of his Bottle in this to produce only good ones. This is denoted by the Epithet *lectum*, and is farther confirm'd by these Words in the subsequent Verse, *moveri digna bono die*. A Bottle of choice *Massic* deserves to be produc'd on a Day of Joy.

† 6. *Moveri.*] This Word has Relation to *pia*. It has been rightly observ'd that *movere* was us'd in Ceremonys of Religion when they took down the Statues of the Gods from their Niches on certain Festivals to carry them thro' the City in publick Processions.

† 8. *Languidiora vina.*] He requires in the Wine a Ripeness of Age that has cur'd it of it's Roughness without rendering it insipid, which has diminish'd it's Fire without extinguishing it. Such is the Force of his Expression, which he has us'd elsewhere in the same Sense.

† 9. *Socraticis madet sermonibus.*] *Messala* was attach'd to the *academic* Sect. *Madet* is a Term borrow'd from the Art of Dyers.

† 10. *Horridus.*] Sciences that demand profound Meditations generally inspire a savage and austere Air.

Epicurus

Epicurus was the only Ancient who had the Secret of taming, as I may so say, and humanising philosophic Virtue. Most of his Followers degenerated from their Master for Want of a just Understanding of his Principles.

† 11. *Prisci Catonis.*] Mr. *Dacier* has very well prov'd from the Expressions *narratur* & *priscus* that this is not meant of *Cato* of *Utica*, but of *Cato* the *Censor*.

† 21. *Læta Venus.*] The Poet dreads Love, who is frequently stubborn and sullen; He will have him be gay and merry or exclude him his Table.

† 23. *Producent.*] The *Amphora* of the *Latini* was a very large Vessel, otherwise it cou'd not have furnish'd a Table with Wine for a whole Night. As we can much less affirm this of a Bottle, I have been oblig'd to take another Turn in the Translation.

CARMEN IX.

* A. U. C. DCCXXII.

Proposito Paridis exemplo, Antonium a Cleopatraz
amoribus & à bello civili deterret.

L. 1.

O. 15.

PASTOR quum traheret per freta navibus
Idæis Helenam perfidus hospitam;
Ingrato celeres obruit otio
Ventos, ut caneret fera

5

Nereus fata.
Malâ ducis avi domum,
Quam multo repetet Græcia milite
Conjurata tuas rumpere nuptias,
Et regnum Priami vetus.

10

Eheu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris
Sudor! Quanta moves funera Dardanæ
Genti! Jam galeum Pallas & Ægida,
Currusque & rabiem parat.

15

Nequidquam Veneris præsidio ferox
Pestes cæsariem, grataque feminis
Imbelli citharâ carmina divides:
Nequidquam thalamo graves
Hastas & calami spicula Cnossii
Vitabis, strepitumque, & celerem sequi
Ajacem: tamen, heu serus, adulteros
20 Crines pulvere collines.

20

Non Laertiaden, exitium tuæ
Gentis, non Pylum Nestora respicis?
Urgent impavidi te Salaminii

Teucerque

O D E IX.

The Poet proposes to *Antony* the Example of *Paris* to disengage him from *Cleopatra* and to discourage him from the civil War.

AS PARIS in Violation of the most sacred Rights of Hospitality was bearing away *Helen* in the Fleet of *Troy*, and transporting from Sea to Sea the Fruit of his Perfidy, *Nereus* sudden forc'd the Winds to pause, whilst he denounc'd to the impatient Ravisher the tragic Issue of his lawless Flames. "Unhappy *Paris*! with what Auspices dost Thou to *Troy* conduct the fatal Prize? The States of *Greece* confederate will join to tare her from thy Hands, they'll march with potent Armys to extinguish in Tides of Blood thy nuptial Torch, tho' it cost the Downfall of the most ancient Monarchy in *Asia*.

How many spent Courfers at the Chariot blow!
How many manly Breasts are bath'd in Sweat! What
Crouds of *Trojans* dost Thou to thy Passion sacrifice!
Now *Pallas* assumes the golden Helm, now she gripes
her dreadful *Aegis*, now she fits the blazing Car for
Combat, and now from Rank to Rank she darts her
ardent Eyes, and threats to wreak her keenest Rage.

Proud of the Protection of *Venus*, in vain shalt thou
amuse thyself in curling thy Tresses, in playing on thy
silver Lyre in a Circle of the Fair, and in instilling
soft Desires by thy tender Songs. In vain dissolv'd in
the Bosom of Softness, beyond the Reach of Pikes and
Jav'lins, shalt thou seek an Asylum impenetrable to
the Noise of Arms and the eager Pursutes of *Ajax*.
Perish thou shalt, infamous Adulterer, too late, alas!
for thy Country's Good, and thy fragrant Locks shall
sweep the dusty Ground.

Dost thou not at thy Heels already see sage *Nestor*,
and *Ulysses* the Scourge of thy Nation? Intrepid
Teucer lightens in thy Face. *Sthenelus* to him in

- Teucerque, & Sthenelus sciens
 25 Pugnæ; five opus est imperitare equis,
 Non auriga piger. Merionen quoque
 Nosces. Ecce furit te reperire atrox
 Tydides melior patre:
 Quem tu, cervus uti vallis in alterâ
 30 Visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
 Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
 Non hoc pollicitus tuæ.

- Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
 Matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei.
 35 Post certas hyemes uret Achæius
 Ignis Pergameas domos.

REMARKS on ODE IX.

THE Invention and Execution of this Piece are excellent. The Subject requir'd more than middle Flight.

I am of Opinion that the Composition of it cannot be better fix'd than at the End of the Year 722, when *Antony* sail'd from *Ægypt* to *Peloponnesus*, with a Design of passing over into *Italy* in the following Spring. I shall be thought, no doubt, very presumtuious for attempting to determine the Epoch of a Piece, whose Subject is much anterior to the Time the Author liv'd in; not a single Word whereof hints the Occasion of it's Production; and which, in fine, seems to be only the Amusement of a Poet willing to exercise his Vein in the Composition of Verses; for this is almost the general Idea which Critics have hitherto entertain'd of this ODE. But is this Idea very just? I pretend it is not, and here offer the Reasons on which I ground my Conjectures.

First,

Ode IX. HORACE'S ODES. 135

Courage not inferior, and who to the Skill of Fighting from the Chariot's Height joins that of managing the most indocil Coursers, pursues thee close as Fate. Thou shalt feel the terrible Arm of *Merion*. Stern *Diomed*, far more than Heir of all his Father's Valor, burns with Impatience to find thee. At the Sight of this Hero, shameful Coward, high-panting thou'lt precipitate thy Flight, as a timid Stag deserts his Pasture at the first Approaches of a prowling Wolf whom from the Vally's farther Side he spys advancing. Is this thy Boast to *Helen*?

True it is, the Resentment of *Achilles* holding his Troops in Inaction will for a while defer *Troy's* Ruin, and the Alarms of *trojan* Dames suspend; but e'er ten rolling Years expire, low in the Dust the proudest Piles shall lie, and *Priam's* Palace sink in *grecian* Fires.

First then, in obscure and problematic Matters an ancient and universal Credulity has no Advantage over an Opinion novel and singular. Let us arrive never so late, we are always in Time to perceive Truth. Criticism daily discovers Things, which appear to Us novel and singular, the Knowledg whereof wou'd be of all Times and of all Men if our Understandings were less limited. The Novelty and Singularity of the Sentiment I propose is not therefore a Reason to reject it.

Secondly, *Torrentius* assures us that one of the most ancient and most excellent Manuscripts he has seen, *optimus ac vetustissimus*, gives for a Title to this Ode *ad Alexandrum Paridem, sub cujus personâ exponit imminetia bella*. It has therefore been perceiv'd several Ages ago that this Piece is intirely allegoric, and that the Poet had no other Design than to represent under borrow'd Names the Wars that menac'd the *roman* Empire. My Opinion is therefore no longer new, it is even found to be ancient and very ancient *vetustissimus*.

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Thirdly, what can be more natural than to discover *Antony* in the Person of *Paris*, and *Cleopatra* in that of *Helen*? *Paris* and *Antony* are both characteris'd by their Effeminacy, both captivated with the Charms of a forein Princess. *Paris* carries away one from *Greece* to *Phrygia*, *Antony* conducts another from *Ægypt* to *Italy*. Both draw a bloody war upon their Country, and run to their own Destruction by the foolish Pursue of a blind Passion. On one Hand, *Diomed* searches for *Paris* to come to blows with him, and on the other *Octavian* searches for the Fleet of *Antony* to ingage with it. *Paris* cannot sustain the Attack of the Enemy, *Antony* flies at the first Approach. These are, I think, Relations sufficiently clear, to create a Suspicion that *HORACE* might very well disguise himself under the Personage of *Nereus*, with the Intent of diverting *Antony* from the civil War, in letting him foresee by an Example exactly parallel the fatal Consequences of his Weakness for *Cleopatra*.

Fourthly, my Explication agrees to a Wonder with the History of this Time. *Dion* reports that in 722 *Octavian* and *Antony* came to an open Rupture, that *Antony* repudiated *Octavia*, that *Octavian* among other Things reproach'd *Antony* for his Amours with *Cleopatra*, and for the Distribution he had made to that Princess's Family of *Phœnicia*, lower *Syria*, the Isle of *Cyprus*, a great Part of *Cilicia*, *Arabia* the happy and the most beautiful and richest Provinces of the Empire in the East; that this Reason forc'd away from *Antony* *Marcus Titius*, *Munatius Plancus*, and several of his most illustrious Partisans; that they were persuaded at *Rome* that, if *Antony* became Master, he wou'd bestow *Rome* to *Cleopatra*, and transport the Seat of the Empire to *Ægypt*; that ev'ry Body determin'd to take up Arms against *Cleopatra*, to refuse *Antony* the Consulat for the Year following, and to strip him of all his Dignitys; that they did not judg it seasonable to declare War against him by Name, either out of Fear of irritating those who had thrown themselves into his Party, or because they wou'd be very glad to put

put him in the Wrong, and to have an Opportunity of reproaching him with undertaking the Defense of an *egyptian* Woman against his own Country; in fine that he pass'd the Winter with this Princess at *Patras* in *Peloponnesus*.

But, it may be ask'd, why shou'd he have Recourse to the Disguise of Allegory? why not address himself directly to *Antony*? I reply the Poet might have good Reasons for explaining his Thoughts by Figure. The Consuls of the Year 722 *Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus* and *Caius Sosius* had quitted *Rome*, to go join *Antony*. Their Example had drawn after them a great Number of Senators. So many Persons distinguish'd by their Rank were to be rever'd, at a Time when *Antony's* Party was more numerous, and when it cou'd not be divi'd which of the two Competitors wou'd carry it. *Octavian* too had render'd himself odious by the great Levys of Money he had been oblig'd to make, to support the Expense of the War: *unde tumultus*, says *Plutarch*, *totam occupavit Italiam*. It was therefore dangerous to speak too openly. The ODE *quò quò scelesti ruitis*, and some of the following Ones carry with them very sensible Proofs of this Reserve. HORACE in them speaks of the civil War, but only in general, and without declaring himself for either of the Partys. Here he does not explaine himself but by Allegory, and he leaves it to the more clear sighted to make particular Applications of it. Ought an able Politician to write otherwise in so delicate a Conjunction? *Pollio*, who was able to act so grand a Part on either Side, constantly refus'd to enter into their Quarrels; and the Regards the Senat had for *Antony* sufficiently justify the Conduct of the Poet.

It may be farther objected to me, that it is not easy to adjust the allegoric Sense to the Natural thro' all it's Parts. To this I answer first, that Allegorys, as well as Comparisons, when they are long, ought not to be subjected to so scrupulous a Precision: Secondly, that the Poet might insert some Circumstances forein to his Purpose, the better to cloke his Design, and

to secure to himself an Evasion in case Things shou'd turn out contrary to his Wishes : thirdly, that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the Detail of all the particular Events of the Year 722, which HORACE might have in View ; for Want of which we might not be able to pronounce justly what impertinent Circumstances there are in the Piece, nor even whether there be any. In fine, from the Manner in which I shall unfold the Allusions in my Remarks, it may be judg'd, I believe, that the Allegory has nothing further mysterious ; and that this Objection can have no Place.

Behold another Reflexion, which seems to destroy my whole System. In the Beginning of 723 HORACE made the ODE *Ibis Liburnis*, &c. It is address'd to *Mæcenas*, who was to go aboard the Fleet destin'd against *Antony*. The Poet offers to accompany him. Is not this, will they say, to declare himself openly for *Octavian* ? What becomes of the politic Discretion I here attribute to him ? An Answer to this Difficulty is found in the Difference of the two Pieces. This under allegoric Personages designing the principal Chiefs of both Partys was to be public, and HORACE's Reserve was well plac'd. Whereas the other being a private Letter written to *Mæcenas* his Patron and his Friend, it is not astonishing he shou'd speak to him with an open Heart, and discover his real Sentiments. I see nothing then that can be reasonably oppos'd to the Course I have taken for the Explication of this ODE, which, magnificent as it all is, loses much of it's Value in the ordinary Sentiment.

¶ 1. *Pastor*.] The very first Word discovers the Justness of the Allusion. *Paris* was brought up among the Shepherds of Mount *Ida* ; *Antony* was of the Number of the *Luperci*, that is to say, Priest of the God of Shepherds. *Cicero* reproaches him on this Occasion in his second *Philippic*.

Traheret per freta.] *Paris* did not go directly from *Lacedæmon* to *Troy*. The Apprehension he was under

of a swift Perfute made him fetch a wide Compass and sail into the Seas of *Cyprus*, *Phœnicia* and *Ægypt*. *Antony* in his Passage from *Alexandria* to *Patras* carry'd a second *Helen* into the same Seas. There is a new Resemblance.

‡ 2. *Perfidus*.] This Trait equally futes the Personage express'd and the Personage intended. *Paris* carries away a forein Princess from her royal Spouse, who had given him a most gracious Reception at his Court. *Antony* breaks off his solemn Ingements to *Octavia*, to give his Hand to a forein Queen. Double Perfidy, occasioned on both Sides by the same Passion.

‡ 3. *Ingrato*.] The Winds are hush'd out of Respect to *Nereus* who is going to speak. The Calm was contrary to the Ravisher's Design. The Precipitation of his Flight ingross'd all his Thoughts. We must not therefore refer *ingrato* to the Winds, but to *Paris*. These two Words *obruit otio* have a fine Effect here. The one exhibits an Image of the Agitation which preceded, the other expresses the Calm which succeeded; the one shews the Authority of *Nereus*, the other the Docility of the Winds: the God prepares to speak and he is already obey'd. Before I quit this Passage, I farther remark a Kind of Resemblance between *Paris* and *Antony*. The former is stopp'd on his Rout to hear his unhappy Destiny; the other receives the Prediction of his in the Course of his Voyage. There is but this Difference; *Nereus* himself pronounces his own Oracles, *Apollo* puts his into the Mouth of a Poet.

‡ 5. *Nereus*.] *Hesiod* represents him as a God most infallible in his Predictions, and it is especially for this Quality HORACE made Choice of him.

Ducis domum.] *Antony* was conducting *Cleopatra* to *Rome*, as *Paris* was conducting *Helen* to *Troy*.

‡ 8. *Regnum Priami vetus*.] From *Scamander* to *Priam* they reckon more than three Ages. This Duration is sufficient to justify the Poet's Expression. The *trojan* Empire and *Paris's* Wedding here represent

Ægypt

Ægypt and *Antony's* Marriage with *Cleopatra*. *Greece* expresses *Rome* and *Italy* which seem to assert the Cause of *Octavia*.

I don't know how it came into *Du Hamel's* Head to hunt for this ancient Kingdom of *Troy* in *Afric*, because *Dardanus* was Son of *Electra* Queen of *Mauritania* and *Ægypt*. I am persuaded the *grecian* Princes when they enter'd into a League at *Aulis*, and *HORACE* when he compos'd this ODE, were equally Strangers to this Thought.

† 11. *Pallas*.] This wise and warlike Goddess comes very naturally into the Allegory. *Octavia* had given Proofs of her Wisdom in the Negotiations that were carry'd on during the Triumvirat; now she lights up the Flambeau of War; because *Rome* and all the West take up Arms to revenge her Quarrel.

Ægida.] The mutual Harmony between the Images and Cadences of this whole Strophe renders it exceedingly magnificent.

† 13. *Veneris præsidio*.] *Venus* is no other than *Cleopatra*. The Court of this Queen was the Seat of *Luxury* and *Voluptuousness*, where *Antony* plung'd into the most infamous Debaucherys. *HORACE* without forcing the History finds enough there to ground just and natural Allusions upon. *Pallas* was for *Menelaus* and *Venus* for *Paris*, æqua *Venus* *Teucris*, *Pallas* iniqua fuit; so *Octavia* was for young *Cæsar* and *Cleopatra* for *Antony*.

† 15. *Imbelli citharâ*.] *Lycophron* speaking of *Paris* say'd before *HORACE*, Verse 139; igitur chordarum ciebis strepitum jejuna modulans & irremunerata Carmina. The Ancients reckon'd it an Honor to play on musical Instruments, and consider'd it as a Disadvantage in *Themistocles* that he did not know how to touch the *Lyre*; habitus est indoctior, says *Cicero* in his Book of *Old Age*. So that *Lycophron* and *HORACE* do not blame his Skill in *Paris*, but only the Use he made of it. History again furnishes me with a correspondent Resemblance to this Passage of the Poet. *Plutarch* says that *Antony*, whilst he stay'd at *Samos*,

Samos, pass'd whole Days in Pleasures, whilst the whole World was in the greatest Consternation. *Quum universus orbis gemitibus lamentisque crepare, una per multos dies insula tibiis & cantu personabat, ubi referta erant theatra certantibus choris.* From *Samos* Antony pass'd to *Athens*, where he still left behind him Traces of his Luxury and Debaucherys. *Hinc navigavit Athenas, ubi de integro effudit se in ludos & spectacula.*

Carmina divides.] Nothing can be more pleasant than the Conceit of the Commentator I spoke of upon the eighth Verse. *Carmen*, says he, is a Task of Silk or Wool given to be spun; thus *carmina dividere*, &c. signifies according to him, to spend one Part of his Time in giving out Tasks to Girls, and the other in diverting 'em with the Guitar. Is not this a happy Sagacity? For my Part without refining so much, I have taken the Words in the Sense they naturally present. The Pleasure of Music is distributed without giving a Share to one and a Share to another. A fine Voice conducted with Method, an Instrument nicely touch'd, equally charm a whole Company and every one of the Persons who compose it. HORACE has given the same Signification to *dividere* in the ODE, *Et thure & fidibus juvat.*

† 18. *Strepitumque & celerem sequi Adjacem.*] The *Strepitum Ajacis celeriter sequentis.* The greek Princes nam'd here represent Octavian, and the first Chiefs of his Army, as *Agrippa*, *Mæcenæ*, *Messala*, *Aruntius*, *Larius*, *Taurus*, &c.

† 19. *Adulteros crines.*] This is happily express'd for *crines Paridis adulteri.* Lyric Poetry is extremely fond of these bold Translations, which have a fine Effect when judiciously plac'd.

† 22. *Pylum.*] This Quatrain and the following one are of a surprising Vivacity. It is not the Image of a Battle, but the Action itself.

† 28. *Tyides melior patre.*] It is but too common to see Children degenerate. Here is the Reverse. *Tydeus* had much Worth, but *Diomedes* more. * An

Interpreter of our Days, many of whose Mistakes I have already animadverted on, does not judg so. This Elogy given to *Diomedes* appears to him to turn out to the Disadvantage of *Tydeus*, and to do wrong to the Judgment of HORACE. He has therefore invert-ed the Reasoning, and pretends to derive all the Merit of the Son from that of the Father. *Diomedes*, says he, *ideo melior miles habitus quòd patrem habuerit omnium longè fortissimum.* I have nothing to say upon this Explication, I have say'd all in proposing it. As to the rest, I don't know whether *Tydeus* and *Diomed* may not represent to Us *Julius Cæsar* and *Octavian* his adoptive Son. At least the Allegory seems to me well founded. *Octavian* might be a little flatter'd; but he was alive, and 'tis a Poet who speaks, two Reasons which shou'd render the Exageration excusable.

✧ 31. *Sublimi anhelitu.*] Those who are out of Breath are accusom'd to tofs up their Heads, to take in more Air, and to respire with the greater Freedom.

✧ 33. *Iracunda classis.*] HORACE transports the Repentment of *Achilles* to the Fleet of that Prince. This is the same Figure we have seen in *crines adulteros*. But what has the Anger of *Achilles* which retarded the Ruin of *Troy* to do in this Place? I know no Body but *Pollio* that can fill up this Part of the Allegory.

The Truth of History proves the Probability of my Conjecture. Many excellent Qualitys united in the Person of *Asinius Pollia*. He was not only a Man of Letters and a dang'rous Critic, he besides possess'd Politics and the Art military in a supreme Degree. His Merit rais'd him to the Prætorship and Consulat. After the Battle of *Pharsalia* he carry'd on the War with Success in *Spain* against *Sextus Pompey*. He commanded Legions in *Gaul* at the Time of the Death of the Dictator. His Expedition in *Dalmatia* procur'd him the Honors of a Triumph. *Antony* was very earnest to gain over to his Party a Man of this Importance, who might afterwards become one of it's surest Supports. He trusted him with all his Secrets, and put his Interests in his Hands for the Conference of *Brundisum* in 714, where

He

He display'd his Talent for Negotiation. The same Year he was in Arms in *cisalpin Gaul* to oppose *Octavian's* Troops who were marching to besiege *Perusia*. This Prince, tho' he had it not in his Power to get another Consul nominated, yet had Interest enough to hinder him from exercising that Office before the Month of *September*, and to force him to quit it a few Days after he had been in Possession of it. From his Triumph, that is, from 715, *Pollio* did not stir out of *Italy*, and affected a Kind of dissembled Neutrality. This Conduct cou'd not but create much Disquiet to *Octavian*, who knew him to be always bias'd to *Antony's* Interests. In order to gain his Affections, he made him several advantageous Proposals, and beg'd of him even to accompany him to *Actium*. *I have render'd too many Services to Antony*, reply'd *Pollio* haughtily, and the Favors he has heap'd on me are too well known: Make an End of your Quarrel without me; Victory will decide of my Lot by giving me a Master: *Mec in Antonium majora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque discrimini vestro subtraham, & ero præda victoris.* An Answer of this Character was no Incouragement to *Octavian*. It was not doubted but *Pollio* maintain'd a Correspondence with *Antony*, and there was still Room to apprehend that he was brooding his Resentment, to disclose it on Occasion; and that as soon as the two Fleets shou'd put to Sea, he might set himself suddenly at the Head of the Adherents to *Antony's* Party at *Rome* and all over *Italy*, to make a powerful Diversion in his Favor. Happily for *Octavian* that did not happen: but all Appearances were contrary, and that is a sufficient Foundation for the Resemblance I discover between *Achilles* and *Pollio* in this last strophe. HORACE employs this very Allegory in the ODE *Scribêris Vario*.

ÿ 36. *Ignis Pergameas domos.*] All the Editions and the greatest Part of the Manuscripts present this Verse after this Manner, *ignis Iliacas domos*. This Reading has always given me Pain. Is it credible that HORACE who has so frequently employ'd *glyconic* Verses in several ODES, and who

has

has always made 'em after the exactest Form, shou'd
place so irregular a one here ; here, I say, where it
was

CARMEN X.

AD PUERUM.

Admonet ut cœnam sine ambitioso adparatu fruatur.

L. 1.
O. 38.

PERSICOS odi, puer, adparatus :
Displicent nexæ philyrâ coronæ :
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
Sera moretur.

5 Simplici myrto nihil adlabores
Sedulus curæ : neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus, neque me sub arctâ
Vite bibentem.

REMARKS on ODE X.

THERE is nothing very remarkable in this little Piece, either for Subject or Composition. Nor is it so much an ODE as an *extempore* Song. After all, great Masters shew themselves even in their most minute Performances. Here we find easy and natural Expression, flowing and well cadenc'd Verse, and even a small Trait of Pleasantry, which agreeably terminates the Song. HORACE in all Appearance, intended to give some of his Friends a Supper. His Servant made Preparations for a magnificent Entertainment. He, like a wise *Epicurean*, declares to him that the most plane and simple Pleasures are more to his Taste.

✱ 3. Rosa

was easy for him to avoid it, and where nothing oblig'd him to depart from the constant Uniformity he had preserv'd ev'ry where else.

O D E X.

TO HIS BOY.

He orders him to prepare an Entertainment without Magnificence.

BOY, to regale Me be not thus extravagant. All these Preparations in the *persian* Mode sute not my Taſt. Theſe Garlands interlac'd with Bands of Linden-rind are my Averſion. Do not thy ſelf the Trouble give of ſeeking Winter-roles out to grace my fragrant Bowls.

A plane Myrtle-wreath without farther Ceremony ſhall ſuffice. Whiſt Thou doſt with the Cup attend beneath my ſhady Vine, Myrtle will beſt become the Maſter and the Man.

‡ 3. *Rofa ſera.*] The moſt Delicate hunted for Roſes, when they were out of Season: *Delicati illi ac fluentes*, ſays *Pacatus*, *parum ſe lautos putabant, niſi luxuria vertiſſet annum, niſi hybernæ poculis roſæ innaſſent.*

‡ 5. *Simplici myrto nihil adlabores.*] A very remarkable Conſtruction this, inſtead of ſaying *ad myrtum nihil laborioſè addere ſatagas.*

‡ 6. *Sedulus curæ.*] The Elegance of this Conſtruction has eſcap'd all the Grammarians and Tranſcribers. They thought they ſhou'd read *curo* with Relation to HORACE, or *cura* with Relation to his Servant. Mr. *Cuningam* from an ancient Manuſcript has recover'd the true Reading.

CARMEN

CARMEN XI.

A. U. C. DCCXXIII.

AD LUCIUM MUNATIUM
PLANCUM.Proposito Teucris exemplo hortatur ut vino curas
eluat.L. 1.
Od. 7.

ALBUS ut obscuro deterget nubila cœlo
 Sæpè Notus, nec parturit imbres
 Perpetuò : sic tu sapiens finire memento
 Tristitiam, vitæque labores
 5 Molli, Plance, mero ; seu te fulgentia signis
 Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit
 Tiburis umbra tui.—Teucer Salamina patremque
 Quum fugeret, tamen uda Lyæo

Tempora populeâ fertur vinxisse coronâ,
 10 Sic tristes adfatus amicos :
 Quò nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente,
 Ibimus, ô focii comitesque :

Nîl desperandum Teucro duce, & obside Teucro :
 Certus enim promisit Apollo
 15 Ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina futuram.
 O fortes, pejoraque passi
 Mecum sæpè viri, nunc vino pellite curas :
 Cras ingens iterabimus æquor.

O D E

O D E XI.

TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS
PLANCUS.

Horace exhorts Plancus to wash away his Cares with Wine, after the Example of Teucer.

WHERE-E'ER you lead your Life, dear *Plancus* ;
 or in the Army, or at Home ; amid a Camp
 imblaz'd with the Luster of our Ensigns, or within
Tivoli's delicious Groves ; the wisest Course you can
 pursue, believe me, is with choicest Wine to banish
 gloomy Thoughts, and mitigate the Pains of Life.
 The South-wind does not always menace Rain, but
 sometimes dissipates the Clouds that hide the Face of
 Heav'n.

Far greater Ills had *Teucer* to encounter. Con-
 strain'd to fly his Father and his native Country, what
 was his Resource ? With a sparkling Bumper in his
 Hand, and a poplar Garland on his Head, " Cou-
 rage, says He to his afflicted Friends. Let Us
 throw our selves into Fortune's Arms. From her
 capricious Freaks I've less to fear, than from the
 Choler of an unjust Father. Where-e'er she leads,
 we'll share her Favors, and divide her Frowns.

" *Teucer* is your Guide, *Teucer* your livelyest Pledge
 of Hope : Let none despair. *Apollo* ever in his Oracles
 infallible offers Us a second Country in a forein
 Land : there he engages Us another *Salamis*, which
 will one Day balance the Glory of the One We quit.
 Hardships more rude than this have We sustain'd to-
 gether, and the same gen'rous Ardor still fires your
 Breasts. To day let *Bacchus* triumph o'er the black
 Cares that persecute Us. To morrow will We put
 to Sea again for a long Voyage."

R E-

REMARKS on ODE XI.

THE *epicurean* Philosophy is in HORACE's Hands an universal Remedy. It raises the drooping Spirit, it heals the Wounds of Care, it relieves from Superstition; 'tis a Resource against the Rigors of Winter, the Dolors of Sickness, and the Terrors of Death. Here he recommends it's Maxims to a Friend, who was upon the Brink of a Disgrace he might naturally expect. *Munatius Plancus* labor'd under an Incertitude whether *Octavian* wou'd give him a Share in the Command of the Army he was to lead against *Antony*, or oblige him to retire to his *Villa* at *Tivoli*. His natural Irresolution, which had twice or thrice caus'd him to change Sides must render him suspicious to *Octavian*, and the Manner of his Deportment tow'rds *Antony*, whom he had quitted, appear'd so scandalous, that he was reproach'd with it in full Senat. There is great Room to believe that what he dreaded came to pass, since Mention is not made of him either at the Battel of *Actium*, or in the whole Course of this War. Thus it stood him upon to follow the Advice our Poet gave him. Tho' there is Nothing very remarkable in this Piece, it is not without it's Merit. The Versification is numerous, the Stile natural, there is Poetry in the Invention, and Justness in the Conduct. But it's principal Beauty consists in the Poet's Address, who, to inforce his Moral, authorises it by the Suffrage of one of the ancient Heros of Greece. We have seen something similar in the ODE *Horrida tempestas*, with this Diff'rence, that he exhibits a Warrior-prince speaking *here*, to make a greater Impression on *Plancus*, who had acted a considerable Part in the Armys, especially since the Death of *Julius Caesar*. As he had been some Time in *Brutus's* Party, 'tis likely HORACE had then an Opportunity of making himself known to him and gaining his Friendship. After what I have say'd in the Notes upon the ODE *Laudabunt alii*, it can be no Surprise

Surprise to find this detach'd from the other. As to the Date, I think we can't place it more justly than at the Beginning of the Year 723. *Plancus* did not side with *Octavian* till 722. The Battel of *Actium* was fought in 723. *Plancus* did not appear there. 'Tis therefore probable that *Octavian*, who reckon'd little upon his Fidelity, left him this Year without an Employment; and that he retir'd to his Country-seat at *Tivoli*. 'Tis likely he did not continue long in Disgrace. By his Advice it was that the Name of *Augustus* was confer'd by the Senat on *Octavian* in 727, the Year after *Antony's* Death. He afterwards was invested with sev'ral Magistracys, and his Son was honor'd with the Consulat in 766.

¶ 3. *Perpetuò*.] The Transcribers, whether thro' Ignorance or Precipitation, sometimes blended two Words together, and sometimes at the End of a Word repeated the initial Letter of the subsequent Word. This Inattention has produc'd here *Perpetuos*, which is now establish'd in many Editions. However eight of the oldest and best Manuscripts have preserv'd *perpetuò*, which appears to me the only Reading worthy HORACE. *Notus parturit imbres perpetuos*, is Nonsense. 'Tis Sense to say that a certain Wind continually threatens Rain, the Meaning of which is, that we may apprehend Rain as oft as that Wind blows; but we never say of any Wind that it menaces continual Rain, because that wou'd imply that the Rain wou'd never cease to fall even tho' that Wind shou'd cease to blow, which is false and absurd.

¶ 5. *Molli mero*.] *Molli* is a Verb and not an Epithet. The Poet speaks justly: Wine may indeed dissipate our Cares, but cannot put an End to the Troubles and Pains of Life, it can at the most but sooth and mitigate them, *finit tristitiam, labores mollit*. The Counsil HORACE gives *Plancus* must have been very much to his Taste, for he lov'd Pleasure and good Cheer, and had already ruin'd himself more than once by his Extravagances. But Nothing shou'd render his Memory more odious than the Abuse he made of his

Credit during his Consulat, to get his Brother *Plancus* *Plotius* proscrib'd in 712.

Seu te fulgentia signis.] This Alternative lets Us see that *Plancus* did not yet know whether he shou'd be order'd abroad, or oblig'd to retire to his Country-house; and this assures the Date I have affix'd to this Piece, and refutes the Sentiment of those who pretend that *Plancus* was already at *Tivoli*.

‡ 12. *Socii comitesque.*] Here these two Words are not synonymous. They who follow'd *Teucer* were at the same Time *vix comites* & *socii fortunæ*.

‡ 13. *Obside Teucro.*] Mr. *Cuningam* has succeeded in

C A R M E N XII.

* A. U. C. DCCXXIII.

AD MÆCENATEM.

Ad bellum Aëtiacum profecturo comitem se offert.

L. 5.
Od. 1.

IBis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula.
Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
Subire, Mæcenæ, tuo?

5 Quid nos? quibus te vita sit superflite
Jucunda; si contrà, gravis?

Utrumne jussi persequemur otium,
Non dulce, nî tecum simul?

10 An hunc laborem mente laturi, decet
Quâ ferre non molles viros?
Feremus: & te vel per Alpium juga
Inhospitalem & Caucæum,
Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
Forti sequemur pectore.

Roges,

in this Correction, and has all the Honor of it. It was necessary; and a better has not been propos'd. Most Manuscripts and Editions have *auspice Teucro*, some *auspice Teucris*, and Dr. Bentley wou'd have Us read *auspice Phæbo*. But all these Readings are faulty. The Change of *Teucro* into *Phæbo*, as there is not the least Authority for it, wou'd be too considerable. In short the *Scholiast* has render'd it by *sponsor*: this is the same Thing as if he had preserv'd *obside* for Us, since this latter has been employ'd by the best Authors precisely in the same Sense with the former, and agrees perfectly well with the Measure of the Verse.

O D E XII.

T O M Æ C E N A S.

He offers to wait on him in *Octavian's* Expedition against *Antony*.

DETERMIN'D, my illustrious Friend, at the Expense of thy own, to ward the Dangers off which threat *Octavian's* Life, Thou the *liburnian* Gally wilt ascend, and hazard thy Person amid the floating Castles of *Mark Antony*.

What in the mean Time shall become of Me? Life has for Me no Charms but on thy Account, and must, if I have the Misfortune of losing thee, be insupportable.

Shall I thy Commands obey, and bask in careless Ease at *ROME*? — Impossible! — Secluded from thy Presence I can taste no Ease.

Thou'lt ask, Can I resolve to brave the Toils of a Campaign with the hardy Virtue of a true Warrior? View me resolv'd where-e'er thou lead'st to follow, or to the Summit of the snowy *Alps*, or to the frightful Solitudes of *Caucasus*, or even to the End of the World,

15 Roges, tuum labore quid juvem meo
 Imbellis ac firmus parum ?
 Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
 Qui major absentes habet :
 Ut adfidens implumibus pullis avis
 20 Serpentium adlapsus timet
 Magis relictis ; non, ut adsit, auxili
 Latura plus præsentibus.

Libenter hoc & omne militabitur
 Bellum in tuæ spem gratiæ :
 25 Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus
 Aratra nitantur mea ;
 Pecusve Calabris ante fidus fervidum
 Lucana mutet pascuis ;
 Neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
 30 Circæa tangat mœnia.
 Satis superque me benignitas tua
 Ditavit : haud paravero,
 Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terrâ premam ;
 Discinctus aut perdam ut nepos.

REMARKS on ODE XII.

THIS ODE is properly a Letter in *lyric* Verse.
 As soon as *Mæcenas* had receiv'd Orders to hold
 himself in Readyness to go aboard *Octavian's* Fleet,
 he imparted this News to *HORACE*, and declar'd
 to him, at the same Time, that he wou'd not permit
 him to make this Voyage. This Declaration mortifi-
 fy'd *HORACE*. He had accompany'd *Mæcenas*
 to the *scilian* Wars against *Pompey*, wherein he had
 like to perish at Cape *Palinurus*, and he wou'd have
 been charm'd to share the same Dangers with him in
 an Action that fix'd the Attention of the whole World,
 as it was to give a Master to the *roman* Empire. *Mæ-*
cenas probably was unwilling to expose his Favorit's
 Life ; perhaps too he was afraid the Fatigues of the
 Voyage and War might impair his Health, which
 was

But Thou'lt add, How can I aid Thee to repel the
Foe, I who am form'd nor for Fatigue, nor Combat?
Useless to thee my little Aid I grant, yet shall I draw
great Succor from thy Company; lest my Alarms will
be, for Absence still increases Fear. The Bird, who
has young Ones, dreads the Snake's Approach, much
more whilst on the Wing than on the Nest, tho' her
Presence, far from being protective of her callow Pro-
geny, cou'd but augment the Prey.

In short, with Pleasure will I this Campaign and any
other make, from the meer Motive of preserving thy
good Graces. For, don't imagin that I want a greater
Stock of Plows for the Culture of my Lands, or cool
lucanian Vales to drive my Flocks to, before the
raging Dog-star burns up the Pastures of *Calabria*; or
to the Walls of *Tusculum* to extend the Precincts of my
glist'ring *Villa*.

Even with Superfluitys has thy liberal Hand already
blest Me; nor seek I Treasures, or to intomb in
Earth like the *Miser* in the Play, or in Luxury to
squander like a loose young Prodigal.

was very delicate. Be that as it will, the Poet has
left Us his Regrets in this Piece, which from Begin-
ning to End is expressive of his Affection, his Grati-
tude, and his Disinterestedness.

¶ 2. *Amice.*] HORACE had been now *Mæ-
cenas's* Favorit for eight Years, having been presented
to him for the first Time in 715.

¶ 3. *Paratus omne, &c.*] Flattery has not exaggerated
in this. We are not indeed much acquainted with
Mæcenas under the Character of a Warrior, but in
my Opinion he has suffer'd very unjustly in that Re-
spect. The Battel of *Actium* was the sixth in which
he fought on *Octavian's* Side in the Space of twelve
Years. The others were those of *Modena* against *Mark
Antony*; of *Philippi*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*; the
Siege of *Perusia*, and the Actions at *Taormina* and
Pelorus. HORACE assisted in the two last, and so

cou'd speak of his Courage as an Eye-witness. The Elogy of *Mæcenas* includes indirectly that of *Octavian*, by insinuating that this Prince was regardless of himself in Battel, and expos'd his Person to the greatest Dangers.

† 9. *Au hunc laborem, &c.*] We must understand *roges*, which is express'd in the 15th Verse. This is the first Difficulty the Poet makes *Mæcenas* propose to him. Hence we may see HORACE was not vane upon the Article of Bravery, and good Reason for it, considering his Behavior at *Philippi*.

† 11. *Feremus.*] This is the Poet's Answer. His Attachment to *Mæcenas* surmounts his Weakness. He finds his Soul fill'd with an extraordinary Measure of Courage sufficient to transport him along with his dear Friend even to the most inaccessible Places.

† 21. *Ut adfit.*] That is not to say *quamvis præsens sit*, but *quamvis parata sit ad ferendam opem*. The Poets have frequently us'd the Verb *adesse* in that Signification.

† 28. *Pascuis.*] The Manuscripts of *Cruquius*, all those of *Torrentius*, many of *Lambinus's*, *Pulmanus's*, &c.

C A R M E N XIII.

A. U. C. DCCXXIII.

AD POPULUM ROMANUM.

Phocæorum exemplo Romam deferendam esse, quam Deorum ira bellis civilibus lacerandam objicit.

L. 5.
O. 16.

ALTERA jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas ;
Suis & ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marfi,
Minacis aut Etrusca Porſenæ manus,

5 Æmula nec virtus Capuæ, nec Spartaqus acer,
Novisve rebus infidelis Allobrox ;

Nec

&c. present this Reading, which has pass'd into the most correct Editions.

‡ 29. *Neque ut superni, &c.*] The Construction of these two Verses is, *neque ut candens villa tangat Circæa Tusculi superni mœnia*. Many learned Men have mistaken this. *Villa Tusculi* is not *Villa agri Tusculani*, as Mr. Dacier explains it. HORACE's *Villa* was more than twenty-five Miles from *Tusculum*. Dr. Bentley makes a Correction here, which to me appears well-grounded, he wou'd read *supini* instead of *superni*. The Reason is, that *supernus* is a relative Noun never us'd but when an inferior Term is express'd at the same Time, as may be prov'd by many Examples.

‡ 30. *CircæaTusculi mœnia*.] One of our late Commentators * has improv'd strangely upon the Errors of some others: he has not only taken *Circæa mœnia*, for the ancient City of *Cerceii*, but adds that this City was near *Tusculum*, *non procul à Tuscula*. The Distance of these two Citys was however fifty-five Miles. Others wou'd call such Nearness a considerable Distance, and I fancy they wou'd not be in the Wrong.

* *John du Hamel.*

O D E XIII.

TO THE ROMANS.

By the Example of the *Phœacians*, he exhorts the *Romans* to quit *Rome*, which the Gods had abandon'd to the Fury of the civil Wars.

SHALL then another Age in civil Broils expire?
Shall stately *Rome* by her own Grandor fall? Shall
the Empress of the Universe, whom nor the banded
Efforts of her neighbor Foes, nor *Capua*'s rival Power,
nor the formidable Troops of haughty *Porfena* cou'd
shake; who gloriously held out against the Enterprises

Nec fera catuleâ domuit Germania pube,
 Parentibusve abominatus Annibal,
 Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis ætas ?
 10 Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum :
 Barbarus, heu ! cineres insistet victor, & Urbem
 Eques sonante verberabit ungulâ ?
 Quæque carent ventis & solibus ossa Quirini
 (Nefas videre) dissipabit insolens ?

15 Fortè (quod expediat) communiter, aut melior pars,
 Malis carere quæritis laboribus ?

Nulla fit hac potior sententia (Phocæorum
 Velut profugit execrata civitas.
 Agros atque lares proprios, habitandaque fana
 20 Apris reliquit & rapacibus lupi)
 Ire, pedes quocunque ferent ; quocunque per undas
 Notus vocabit, aut protervus Africanus.

Sic placet ? An melius quis habet suadere ? Secundâ
 Ratem occupare quid moramur alite ?
 25 Sed juremus in hæc :—Simul imis saxa renarint
 Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas :
 Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
 Padus Matina laverit cacumina ;
 In mare seu celsus procurrerit Apenninus,
 30 Novâve monstra junxerit libidine
 Mirus amor ; juvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
 Adulteretur & columba miluo ;
 Credula nec rivos timeant armenta leones ;
 Ametve falsa levis hircus æquora.

35 Hæc,

of infuriate *Spartacus*, and the Perfidy of the *Allobroges* ever to Revolts dispos'd; who, maugre the Inundations of the blue-ey'd Sons of *Germany*, maugre the implacable Fury of *Annibal* the Abomination of our Fore-fathers, amid the greatest Shocks of Violence stood firm? Shall She at last be humbled to the Dust beneath *our* impious Hands and grow the Prey of a curs'd Brood whom the Gods to their Vengeance have devoted? Alas! these Mountains will a second Time become the Hants of savage Beasts; Strangers will reap the Fruits of our Dissensions; like Victors will they ride exulting thro' our Streets; trample under Foot the Ashes of the World's Mistress; ransack the Tombs of the Founders of our Empire; and — oh horrid Scene of Sacrilege! — scatter those precious Bones abroad, by Sun or Wind not visited for a Lenth of Ages.

Such pressing Ills demand a speedy Remedy. What that may be imploy's perhaps the Thoughts of all, at least the wisest of You meditate the Means of Safety: If so, may the celestial Pow'rs second your Intentions.

But this to Me appears your happiest Course. Follow th' Example of the brave *Phocæans*. By most inviolable Oaths engag'd never to see their native Country more, their Houses, Temples and their City they abandoned to Boars and rabid Wolves. Let Us act like them: By Land let Us retire as far as We can travel, or rather by Sea transport ourselves where'er the fury of the Winds shall drive Us.

Say, *Are ye content?* Who has more wholesom Counsil to propose? — Come then, let's imbark in the first Vessel we can seize. Auspices to the Brave can't fail of being favorable. But hold—first let Us sanctify our high Resolves:—

Curs'd be the Man who offers to return, 'till Rocks from the deep Recesses of the Main emerging float on the Tide's Surface: 'till lowly *Po* pour his crystal Urn over the Summit of *Matinus*, and lofty *Apennine* plunge head-long in the Sea's Abyss: 'till wond'rous Lust inspire to Animals new Passions; 'till Tigresses eat with Stags, and Doves with Kites ingender; 'till

35 Hæc, & quæ poterunt reditus abscindere dulces,
Eamus omnis execrata civitas,
Aut pars indocili melior grege : mollis & exspes
Inominata perprimant cubilia.
Vos quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
40 Etrusca præter & volate litora.

Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus ; arva, beata
Petamus arva, divites & insulas :
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis,
Et imputata floret usque vinea ;
45 Germinat & numquam fallentis termes olivæ,
Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem ;
Mella civâ manant ex ilice ; montibus altis
Levis crepante lympa defilit pede.

Illic injussæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ,
50 Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera ;

Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
Neque intumescit alta viperis humus :

Pluraque felices mirabimur ; ut neque largis
Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
55 Pinguia nec ficcis urantur semina glebis ;
Utrumque rege temperante cœlitum.

Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
Neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem :

fearless Flocks with Confidence approach the tawny Lion; and the peel'd Goat dance like a Dolphin in the briny Wave.

When to these solemn Imprecations We have added others still more pow'rful to cut off all Hopes of a Return whose Charms are so bewitching, let Us all go off in a Body, or let the sounder Part at least resolve to follow where I lead the Way. If the indocil Herd, the dastard Crew, ever incapable of Resolution cannot be lug'd from out their inauspicious Dens; yet ye who nobly dare, without betraying one unmanly Tear, embark this Instant, and with flying Sails shoot far beyond the *tuscan* Shore.

The Ocean, which incircles wide the Globe, is our Resource. Let Us away in Quest of the *fortunate Isles*, of Climates cherish'd by all-bounteous Nature; there ev'ry Year th' uncultivated Land a full Return of bearded Harvest yields; there, without Pains of pruning, cluster'd Grapes blush on the gen'rous Vine; the bending Branches of the Olive groan with the Freight of unctuous Berrys and never balk the Farmer's Hopes; there Figs, without the Disciplin of grafting, grow mature and grace the Mother-tree; Show'rs of Honey fall from hollow Oaks; Rivulets from the Mountain's Height descending form by natural Cascades a tinkling Murmur.

She-goats from fruitful Vales return spontaneous to the Pail, and friendly Kine present their swelling Udders to the Milker's Hand.

No Bear stalks growling in the Ev'ning's Dusk around the Fold, no mining Viper heaves the swelling Soil.

There (not to speak of as many more Advantages which will cause our Wonder and our Happynefs) the East-wind leaves no Marks of Wast by Inundations; and the well-foster'd Grane is not burnt up by excessive Heats; for the Master of the Gods takes Care to temper Heat and Cold, each by the other.

Never did plund'ring *Argonauts* attempt a Descent upon these Isles, or infamous *Medea* set her Foot on

Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautæ,
60 Laboriosa nec cohors Ulyssæi.

Nulla nocent pecori contagi: nullius astri
Gregem æstuosa torret impotentia.

Juppiter illa piæ secrevit litora genti,
Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum,
65 Ærea dehinc ferro duravit secula; quorum
Piis secunda, vate me, datur fuga.

REMARKS on ODE XIII.

NEAR threeſcore Years had the *Roman* republic been disjointed by the Troubles of the civil Wars. That which broke out in 722 between *Octavian* and *Antony* menac'd it with a general Diſſolution. *Afric, Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, Sicily, Sardinia,* and chiefly *Italy* were under the Command of *Octavian*. *Antony*, by his Soldiers ador'd, Maſter of all *Ægypt, Libya, Cyrenæica, Thrace, Greece, Macedonia,* and all the adjacent Iſles, reckon'd, beſides, ten or twelve Kings in his Alliance. *Rome*, the Center of the Empire, was divided between the two Chiefs. The Conſuls of the preceding Year had declar'd openly for *Antony*, and were gone over to him into *Ægypt*. The two Fleets had ſail'd, the one from the Ports of *Peloponneſus*, the other from the Coaſts of *Italy*. More than ſeven hundred Veſſels cover'd the *adriatic* Sea. A Battle was to be hazarded on the firſt Rencontre, and that Battle was to decide the Fortune of the Univerſe. The Expectation of ſo intereſting an Event ingroſs'd the Minds of all, the Incertitude of Succeſs alarm'd 'em, and the Remembrance of the preceding Wars

'em : Never did Thirst of Gain conduct the Fleets of the *Phœnicians* hither, or *Ulysses's* Crew transport their Passions with their Misfortunes.

No Contagion sheds Mortality among the Flocks, no malign Constellation dries up their vital Blood by the Ardor of it's Influence.

When the brazen Age had alloy'd the Purity of the golden, and that of Iron had succeeded the brazen one, *Jupiter* separated these Regions from the rest of the World to serve as an *Asylum* for Virtue. Now, now the Gods invite Her to wing her Flight to these bless'd Abodes.—I on their Part declare it.—Happy Flight, which from such deplorable Times will sequester Us for ever.

collected, as it were, into one Point of View all the Horrors that had attended them. HORACE, whom *Mæcenæ*s had left behind him in *Rome*, struck, as well as others, with these terrifying Ideas, and seeing nothing on all Sides but Presages of Troubles, Murders, and Conflagrations, compos'd this ODE, in which he proposes to the *Romans* the Desertion of their City, and a Retreat into the *fortunate Islands*, where the Gods promis'd 'em a Life more peaceful and happy. To induce 'em to this he speaks neither of the Avarice, nor the Ambition of their Chiefs; the Reason of this Reserve I have given before. He traces the Matter higher, and finds the original Cause of all these Calamities in the Resentment of the Gods, who rais'd these Heats among them to revenge the Murder of *Remus*; as he told them before in the ODE *quò quò scelesti*. To this Reason he adds the Example of the *Phocæans*, who to avoid the Plagues of War voluntarily quitted their Country. In short, it is not a Piece of private Advice, but a Declaration of the Orders of the Gods, whose Envoy and Interpreter he professes himself. This Piece, with Regard to the Circumstances in which it was compos'd, and to the Manner in which it is conducted cannot be consider'd
but

but as the Work of a great Poet. It is a Kind of Enthusiasm supported from Beginning to End by the Force of the Expressions, by the Boldness of the Figures, by the Number of the Cadences, and by the Beauty of the Descriptions; and one of our Critics did not exaggerate in saying that this ONE surpass'd all that Antiquity has attempted in this Kind, *antiquitatis universæ excedit conatum.*

Torrentius has refer'd this Piece to the Wars of Sicily, which to me does not appear probable. It is evident upon the bare Reading of it that it was compos'd at Rome, where HORACE spent very little of his Time during the Course of those Wars, as he was then in the Train of *Mæcenas* in *Octavian's* Army. Moreover the Council he gave the Romans wou'd have been very useless at a Time when the *tuscan* and *sicilian* Seas were shut up by those Fleets of *Pompey*, which, as it were, besieg'd Rome and Italy on that Side.

The Combination of Verses, which the Poet uses here, is very remarkable; 'tis the only one of the Kind transmitted to Us from all Antiquity. 'Tis true, *Prudentius* has imitated it. The Verses, which form each Distich, differ as to the Quality of the Measures, but the Number of Measures is equal in both; notwithstanding which, almost all the Editions remove each second Verse from the Margin, as if it were shorter than the former. This is apparently an Oversight in the first Editors, as not a single good Reason can be assign'd for it.

† 1. *Altera ætas.*] The Jealousys of *Marius* and *Sylla* kindled the civil Wars in 666, which were not intirely extinguish'd till *Antony's* Death 724. HORACE therefore says he was in the second Age of those Wars, because they had commenc'd in the preceding Age.

† 6. *Allobrox.*] That is to say *Allobrox infidelis in rebus novis* or *novandis*. The Infidelity of those People appear'd especially upon two Occasions. During *Catiline's* War, after having assur'd the Senat of their Attachment, they took up Arms against the Republic.

After

After *Cæsar's* Death, taking Advantage of the new Troubles that agitated the State they drove the *Romans* out of *Vienna* upon the *Rhone*.

‡ 11. *Barbarus Victor.*] The *Ægyptians*, *Daci* and other strange People who were in *Antony's* Army.

‡ 15. *Quod expediat.*] The Reading *quid expediat* has thrown the Interpreters into a Perplexity, from which they cannot disengage themselves. *Rutgerfius* by the Change of a single Letter has let in Light upon this Place, and enabled Us to discover it's true Sense. We shou'd therefore read *quod expediat*, and put these two Words in a Parenthesis. That is to say *quod profit*, *quod bene vertat*, which is a Form in Law, as well as *placet* of ‡ 23. These Terms were us'd in Consultations.

‡ 33. *Ravos.*] Four Manuscripts have preserv'd to Us this Reading, which the Copyers and Editors have sometimes chang'd into *flavos*, and sometimes into *sevos*. Mr. *Cuningam* and Dr. *Bentley* re-establish'd the Text before Me.

‡ 42. *Divites insulas.*] Not the two little *spanish* Isles near *Andalusia*, which might well serve as a Retreat for *Sertorius* or for *Cæsar*, but cou'd never lodg or entertain almost three Millions of *roman* Citizens, but the *Canarys*, over-against the Kingdom of *Sus*. Ev'ry Thing favors this Opinion, and Nothing can destroy it.

‡ 43. *Reddit.*] Seed sown is a Kind of *Depositum*, which the Earth is annually intrusted with, and annually returns. In the same Sense the Poet says *numquam fallens oliva*.

‡ 44. *Floret.*] By a Metaphor he says that the Vines always flourish, instead of saying they never fail to produce an abundant Vintage.

‡ 48. *Pede.*] The Poets animate all Nature; they have given Feet to running Waters, because they advance successively from Place to Place as if they were marching.

‡ 49. *Mulctra.*] *Mulctrum* and *mulctrale* signify a Milk-Pail. But by *mulctra* in the feminin Gender *Virgil* designs the Action of Milking.

† 54. *Radat.*] Tempestuous Rains wash away the Fatness of the Soil, on the contrary soft Show'rs penetrate the Earth by Degrees and insinuate Fecundity.

† 62. *Æstuosa impotentia.*] Hardly can more Energy be put into an Expression to mark a violent and stifling Heat.

† 65. *Ærea debinc, &c.*] Mr. *Cuningam* has restor'd this Reading out of five or six excellent Manuscripts. The Construction is more natural and easy.

Quorum

CARMEN XIV.

* A. U. C. DCCXXIII.

AD MÆCENATEM.

Actiæ victoriæ primordia celebrat.

L. 2.
Od 9.

QUANDO repostum Cæcubum ad festas dapes,
Victore lætus Cæsare,
Tecum sub altâ (sic Jovi gratum) domo,
Beate Mæcenas, bibam ;

5 Sonante mistum tibiis carmen lyrâ,
Hac Dorium, illis Barbarum :

Ut nuper ; actus quum freto Neptunius
Dux fugit uestis navibus,
Minatus Urbi vincla, quæ detraxerat
10 Servis amicus perfidis ?

Romanus (eheu ! posteri negabitis)
Emancipatus feminæ
Fert vallum & arma miles, & spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest :
15 Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol aspicit conopeum.

Ad

Quorum is refer'd to the two last Ages, to wit, that of Brass and that of Iron. HORACE does not mention the silver Age, because that and the golden Age were so like, they seem'd to make but one.

¶ 66. *Vate me.*] This Word tends to Persuasion, and has a fine Effect in the Close of this Piece. The Poet in Quality of *Apollo's* Priest declares himself inspir'd by the Gods, in order to add more Weight to all he had been saying.

O D E XIV.

T O M Æ C E N A S.

He sings the first-fruits of the Victory gain'd by
Octavian at Actium.

WHEN, happy Sir, beneath your tow'ring Roof,
shall I that choice *Cæcubian* Wine carouse,
which You for solemn Festivals reserve? Was ever a
more glorious Opportunity? Victory declares for
Cæsar: To *Jove*, who crowns his Arms with fair
Success, our joyous Revel will be grateful.

Doutless our Pleasure You'll inhance with Music's
spritely Sounds: the Flutes and Lyre will in Concert
play the same Air, this on the *doric* Tone, and on the
phrygian those.

Such Symphony some Years ago You gave Us, when
that Chief of Rebels, that pretended Son of *Neptune*,
who menac'd *Rome* with Chains, the very Chains
from which he lately had set free those Slaves, whom
to his Cause vile *Perfidy* attach'd, was from our Seas
with *Ignominy* chas'd, too happy in securing a Retreat
after his Navy was involv'd in Fire.

The *roman* Troops (who in succeeding Ages will
believe it) beneath a Woman's Sway have carry'd
Arms, nor blush'd t'obey a Herd of *Eunuchs* by De-
bauches wither'd: the Sun has seen the Eagles of
the Empire fly round the infamous Pavilion of a fe-
male Gypsy. Indig-

- Ab hoc frementes verterunt bis mille equos,
 Galli, canentes Cæsarem :
 Hostiliumque navium portu latent
 20 Puppes finistrosum citæ
 Io triumphæ ! tu moraris aureos
 Currus ; & intactas boves ?
 Io triumphæ ! nec Jugurthino' parem
 Bello reportasti ducem ;
 25 Neque Africanum, cui super Carthaginem
 Virtus sepulcrum condidit.

Terrâ marique victus hostis Punico,
 Lugubre mutavit sagum.

- Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
 30 Ventis iturus non suis,
 Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
 Aut fertur incerto mari.
 Capaciores adfer huc, puer Scyphos ;
 Et Chia vina, aut Lesbica,
 35 Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coerceat,
 Metire nobis Cæcubum.
 Curam metumque Cæsaris rerum juvat
 Dulci Lyæo solvere.

REMARKS on ODE XIV.

BEFORE the general Battle at *Actium*, there were both by Sea and Land several small Engagements between some Partys of both Armys, wherein *Octavian's* Troops had the Advantage. At last the two Fleets sail'd, and all the Forces were drawn up on both Sides for the decisive Action. *Cleopatra* alarm'd by the Danger immediately fled. *Antony* follow'd her close, and meditated a secure Retreat, abandoning to his Generals the Glory and Hazard of the Battle. When this first Success was known
 at

Indignant at the Sight two thousand *Gallo-greeks* revolting urg'd their Horses onward to *Octavian's* Camp, and instantly a Squadron of the hostile Navy into our Ports retir'd along the northern Beach.

Health to great *Cæsar*! Where are the golden Chariots? Where the Victims for Sacrifice? Health to great *Cæsar*! *Cæsar* eclipses all the Heros We e'er conducted in the Pomp of Triumph. By *Jugurtha's* Chains *Marius* acquir'd Glory; on the Ruins of *Carthage* young *Scipio* to his Valor rais'd an everlasting Monument; but *Cæsar's* greater Deeds superior Merit prove.

Vanquish'd already both by Sea and Land the Foe has lay'd aside his purple Robes, and now is clad in humble Weeds.

Sport of Winds and Fortune perhaps he struggles now with southern Winds along the *lybian* Coasts; perhaps not holding any certain Course from Sea to Sea roaming he drags the Relicks of his Army.

Be those Things as they may—Boy—instant bring Glasses of the largest Size. Fill 'em with *chian* or with *lesbian* Wine, or rather give Me rich *cæcubian* to fortify my Stomach.

We can't begin too soon to drown in Wine th' Alarms which *Cæsar's* Dangers for the Empire's Safety lately thro' ev'ry Breast diffus'd.

at *Rome*, Anxiety chang'd quickly into Hope, Fortune appear'd to declare for *Octavian*, and the Detail of a complete Victory was hourly expected. To such happy Presages *HORACE* cou'd not be insensible. Impatient to give Vent to his Joy, he wrote that instant to *Mæcenas*, and address'd this Ode to him. *Mæcenas* receiv'd it in the Camp at *Actium*, and doubtless imparted it without Delay to *Octavian*, as the Poet had justly expected. The Subject must have been pleasing to the Prince, but especially the Manner of handling it. 'Tis not one of the least excellent Pieces of *HORACE*. The Turn
is

is natural, the Poetry is animated by the Sentiment, and the Sentiment is vary'd by the Poetry. The Date of this Piece cannot be disputed, since the Battel, which is the Subject of it, was fought on Sept. 12. 723.

I say'd *Mæcenæ* was in *Octavian's* Army at *Actium*, when this ODE was address'd to him. I add that under *Agrippa* he there commanded a Squadron of *Liburnians* with which he was detach'd after *Antony*. HORACE disposes Us to believe this in the ODE *Ibis Liburnis*. *Acron* says it in express Terms, *ad Actiacum bellum iturus Cæsar Augustus Liburnis Mæcenatæ præposuit*. *Pedo Albinovanus* represents *Mæcenæ* in the Action in the Heat of the Battel, and makes him pursue *Antony*.

*Quum freta Nilivæ texerunt lata carinæ,
Fortis erat circum, fortis & ante ducem.*

*Militis Eoi fugientis terga sequutus,
Territus ad Nilum dum fugit ille caput.*

In short *Propertius* in L. 2. El. 1. says that *Mæcenæ* perform'd his Part in the Capture of those Vessels at *Actium*, whose Beaks were born in Triumph in Order to be hung on the Base of *Julius Cæsar's* Altar.

*Quod mihi si tantum, Mæcenæ fata dedissent,
Ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus . . .*

*Bellæque, resque tui memorarem Cæsaris; & tu
Cæsare sub magno cura secunda fores.*

*Nam quoties Mutinam, aut civilia busta Philippos,
Aut canerem Siculæ classica bella fugæ,*

*Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,
Actiæque in sacrâ currere rostra viâ;*

*Te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,
Et sumtâ & positâ pace, fidele caput.*

All these Testimonys join'd together give such Strength to each other as to leave no Room for Contest.

¶ 7. *Ut nuper, &c.*] HORACE very à propos makes Mention here of the Wars of *Sicily*. *Octavian*, seconded by *Agrippa's* Valor, took this Island in

in 718, and oblig'd young *Pompey* to fly into *Asia*. *Mæcenas* assisted in this War, and signalis'd himself in the Rejoycings made at *Rome* upon the Subject of so important a Victory.

Neptunius dux.] *Sextus Pompey* was ambitious of passing for *Neptune's* Son, because his Father *Cneius* had been Sov'reign of the Seas.

† 12. *Emancipatus.*] That is *valde mancipatus*. This Distich and the two following are true Sterling, all the Terms are chosen to form the Sentiment of the most lively Indignation.

† 19. *Hostiliumque navium, &c.*] There is indeed some Perplexity in the Text, but there is not less in the Explications of the Commentators. In this Manner I range the Phrase: *Puppæ hostilium navium citæ sinistrorsum latent in portu*. By *puppæ hostilium navium* I understand simply *hostiles naves*; and I take *citæ* for *actæ, motæ*, from the Verb *ciere, cicio*. Before the general Fight, and even at the Beginning of this Fight, sev'ral Troops both by Sea and Land revolting from *Antony* went over to *Octavian*. HORACE speaks here of this double Desertion; of that by Land in the preceding Distich, and of that by Sea in this. The two Fleets were in the Gulf of *Ambra-cia*; *Antony's* on the right Hand along the southern Coast; and *Octavian's* on the left along the northern. On this Situation depends the Intelligence of the second Distich. The Vessels, which abandon'd *Antony*, had no other Course to steer but from the right Side of the Gulf to the left to gain the Ports possess'd by *Octavian's* Fleet. I fancy these Words *naves hostiles sinistrorsum citæ latent portu* are now easy to be understood. They cannot be explain'd so naturally in any other Sense.

† 21. *Io Triumphe!*] HORACE makes a Person of *Triumph* and addresses his Pray'rs to him as to a God. I thought myself oblig'd to take a different Turn in the Translation.

Tu moraris.] This Passage is free from Difficulty in my Opinion. The Senat order'd a Feast to be celebrated

brated annually on the Day the News shou'd be brought to *Rome* of the Victory at *Actium*; *ut feriae essent eâ die, quâ victoriæ nuntius adlatus fuit*: those are the Words of *Dio* in his fifty-first Book. The Poet, upon the News only of the Flight of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, without waiting for the Completion of the Victory, forestals the Decree; he goes farther, and says *Octavian* had done enough already to intitle him to the Honors of a Triumph. He repeats *Io triumphæ* to animate the Zeal of the Senat.

✧ 25. *Africanum*.] They who read *Africano* do Wrong to HORACE. To speak correctly, he shou'd have say'd *Punico*, which wou'd have distinguish'd the War with *Jugurtha* from the War with *Carthage*, which are confounded by the Term *Africano*, since both were wag'd in *Afric*. Besides, sev'ral Manuscripts and ancient Editions have *Africanum*. *Aldus Manutius* is suppos'd to be the first who alter'd the Text, but here it is well re-establish'd. It only remains to know which of the *Scipios* HORACE intended to speak of. Interpreters are divided upon this Point. In the Translation I have declar'd myself for young *Scipio Æmilianus*, and I have done so with Choice. Mr. *Dacier*, who has espous'd the other Opinion, confesses that this appears the more plausible; since it seems, says he, more reasonable to say that *Carthage* ruin'd is the Monument of the Glory of the last *Scipio*, than to say that *Carthage* standing is the Monument of the Glory of the first. *Cicero* and *Velleius Paterculus* speak of the Ruin of this City by young *Scipio* in a Way so conformable to this Passage of HORACE, that one wou'd think these three Authors had agreed to praise him in the same Manner, and almost in the same Terms. Here is what *Cicero* says of him in his Harangue against *Rullus*: *Carthaginem Publius Africanus nudatam tectis ac mœnibus ad æternam hominum memoriam consecravit*. *Velleius* is still more expressive; *Carthaginem*, says he, *Publius Scipio funditus sustulit, fecitque suæ virtutis monimentum*: which seems precisely the literal Explication of what

what HORACE says, *cui super Carthaginem virtus sepulcrum condidit*. As magnificent Tombs are erected to preserve to Posterity the Memory of great Men, Carthage supplies the Place of a Tomb to Scipio, and as long as Mention shall be made of the Ruin of this proud City, Mention will be also made of the Victories of it's Destroyer. This young Scipio was Son to Paulus Æmilius and Sempronia Sister of the Gracchi, and was adopted by the Son of old Scipio Africanus.

♪ 27. *Terrâ marique, &c.*] Before the general Battel, Octavian made himself Master of the Isle of Corfu; Antony was beaten, and had like to have been snap'd up as he was going to his Fleet; Agrippa took the Citys of Methone, Patras, Corinth and the Isle of Leucadia, and defeated two of Antony's Squadrons, the one commanded by Asidius and the other by Socius. Here's an Enemy conquer'd by Sea and Land, *terrâ marique victus hostis*. To which let us add the Flight of Antony and Cleopatra, which was regarded at Rome as a complete Victory. Notwithstanding, they cou'd not 'till some Time after receive the News of the intire Defeat of the Enemy's Fleet.

♪ 31. *Syrtes.*] By this we may understand the Libyan Sea in general, as I have translated it.

♪ 33. *Capaciores, &c.*] HORACE's Joy is too lively to wait the Return of Mæcenus; he celebrates the Feast on the very Day he receives such good News.

♪ 37. *Curam metumque, &c.*] He thought his Alarms on Octavian's Account at an End, because he did not know this Prince's Resolution of pushing his Victory farther.

CARMEN XV.

* A. U. C. DCCXXIV.

AD SODALES.

Ob Cleopatæ mortem lætandum esse.

L. 1.
Q. 37.

NUNC est bibendum, nunc pede libero
 Pulsanda tellus : nunc Saliaribus
 Ornare pulvinar Deorum
 Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

- 5 Antehac nefas depromere Cæcubum
 Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
 Regina dementes ruinas,
 Funus & imperio parabat,
 Contaminato cum grege turpium
 10 Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
 Sperare, fortunæque dulci
 Ebria. Sed minuit furorem
 Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus :
 Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
 15 Redegit in veros timores
 Cæsar, ab Italiâ volentem
 Remis adurgens, (accipiter velut
 Molles columbas aut leporem citus
 Venator in campis nivalis
 20 Æmonia) daret ut catenis

Fatale monstrum : quæ generosiùs
 Perire quærens, nec muliebriter
 Expavit ensen, nec latentes
 Classe citâ reparavit oras.

C A R M E N XV.

TO HIS FRIENDS.

He exhorts them to Mirth on *Cleopatra's* Death.

NOW, my dear Friends, let's crown the foaming Goblet. Now let Us beat the Ground in antick Measures with the Feet of Liberty: Now with religious Banquets let's adorn the sacred Beds, whereon the Gods repose. Let our Gratitude equal the Magnificence and Luxury of the Feasts serv'd up to *Mars's* Priests. Never was Season better fram'd for Joy, nor can We in expressing it be too extravagant.

Criminal it had lately been to drink our hoarded Wines, when a Queen by Fortune's Smiles intoxicated, and so blindly vane as to see Nothing above her Hopes, advanc'd against Us with a Group of Eunuchs by the most infamous Debaucherys inglorious; and madly menac'd to level the *Capitol* with the Dust, and fill with Funerals the Empire. But the Loss of a considerable Fleet, whereof a single Ship with Pain escap'd the Flames, began to mitigate her Fury. The Perturbation of her Soul, by Fumes of *Mareotic* Wine produc'd, chang'd sudden into real Fear. She bent her Thoughts on flying far from *Italy* with crouded Sails to rob *Octavian* of his Vengeance: He with Impatience burning to inchain this Monster to the *roman* Name so fatal flew after her with nimble Oars, as on a timid Dove a Hawk pours down, or as a Huntsman courses a Hare with Ardor across the Planes and Snows of *Thessaly*.

But yet this Woman, tow'ring above her Sex, to shining Servitude prefer'd a glorious Death. She scorn'd to seek a Country to her Foes unknown, and for a mean Asylum barter *Ægypt*. On Death resolv'd, her Courage turn'd to Fierceness. She did not shudder

- 25 Ausa & jacentem visere regiam
 Vultu sereno, fortis & asperas
 Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
 Corpore combiberet venenum.
 Deliberatâ morte ferocior :
 30 Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
 Privata deduci superbo
 Non humilis mulier triumpho.

REMARKS on ODE XV.

Cleopatra's Death put a Period to the War between Antony and Octavian. Of six ODES which HORACE compos'd on this Occasion, this, tho' the last, is not therefore the least beautiful. Far from being infeebl'd by it's Productions his Genius maintains it's Strenth to the last, Octavian's Successes inspire to him new Vigor, the Poet and the Hero triumph equally. The Character of Egypt's Queen is a finish'd Piece. Her tragic Death is there portray'd in Colors the most lively and the most natural. It is a moving, it is an animating Picture, which joins the Sentiment to the Action. All the Passions of this Princess are there seen in their most violent Movement. Her Ambition is a Drunkenness, her Love a Madness, her Courage a Despere. One might aver that all these Transports pass'd in the Poet's own Soul, such Nobleness is there in the Thoughts, such Boldness in the Figures, such Energy in the Expressions. 'Tis not an Exageration to say he has in this Piece united the Pathetic of Tragedy, and the Sublimity of lyric Poesy.

In August 724. Octavian took Alexandria, oblig'd Antony and Cleopatra to put themselves to Death, and subjected all Egypt. This News was not known at Rome 'till the Middle of September: so that we cannot fix the Date of this Piece earlier.

Antony

at the Ponyard's Point She for her own Destruction
had unsheath'd.

The Consternation of her mourning Court with
Countenance serene she view'd, and with intrepid
Hands grasp'd drowsy Aspicks to exasperate their Ire,
and with dying Veins drank in the lurid Poison.

Proud of the Grandor of her Birth and Station She
cou'd not stoop to yield her Conqueror the Pleasure
of conducting Her aboard his Ships to *Rome*; and of
seeing Her before his triumphal Car of all her Dignity
despoil'd.

Antony had arm'd *Ægypt* and all the East against
Octavian, and his Death had just deliver'd this Prince
from a dang'rous Rival, and put an End to the civil
Wars, which had rent the Republic for so many
Years. All HORACE's Indignation shou'd there-
fore, it seems, fall upon *Antony*, who was now no
longer capable of Resentment. However he does not
say a single Word of him. *Cleopatra's* Death employs
him intirely, *Cleopatra's* Death is the sole Object he
proposes to the public Joy. What then cou'd be the
Motive of this Conduct? This the Reading of the
ODE naturally presents, and yet no Commentator has
examin'd it to the Bottom. To enter into the Poet's
Reasons, we shou'd represent to ourselves the Circum-
stances of the Time in which he wrote. I have al-
ready touch'd on some of them no less sutable to this
Piece than others. I add that *Julius Antony* Son of
the *Triumvir* had just obtain'd his Pardon from
Octavian, who was seeking to attach him to his In-
terest, and who afterwards heap'd Favors on him.
Perhaps too he did Pleasure to *Octavia* in sparing the
Memory of her unfaithful *Antony*, and in turning all
the Odium against *Cleopatra* her Rival. What in-
duces Me to believe this, is that when *Octavian* was
upon the Point of undertaking the War against *Antony*,
this Princess, still more *Roman* by her Sentiments than
by her Birth, intreated her Brother to forget the bad

Treatment she had receiv'd from her unworthy Husband. Lastly, the Senat had set HORACE the Example of that Temperament he has observ'd, and *Octavian's* Glory cou'd not suffer by it. *Propertius* has handled the same Subject with the same Discretion.

† 1. *Nunc est bibendum.*] This Beginning is truly triumphant. In a few Words he expresses the Sallys of Joy which so interesting an Event must cause in all good Citizens. An indiff'rent Poet wou'd not have fail'd to particularise the Effects of this Joy. HORACE, far from launching out into these puerile and trite Descriptions, passes at once to the Causes of this Joy. The mad Projects of *Cleopatra*, the Alarms she occasion'd throughout the whole Empire, the Ruin of her Fortune, in fine the funest Catastrophe of her Death are the striking Objects which animate the Scene, which fix the Attention. Thus what wou'd be to others only the Accessary becomes in the Hands of those great Masters a Source of the greatest Beautys.

† 3. *Ornare pulvinar Deorum.*] This Expression is correct; the Gods had only the outward Shew of the Feast *ornare*, and the Priests had all the Profit.

† 4. *Tempus erat.*] This Construction *nunc erat* signifies the same Thing as *nunc est* of the first Verse. The Verb is sufficiently determin'd to the present Time by the modal Particle. Such Expressions are frequent in the Poets. See *Ovid de Tristib.* L. 4. El. 8.

† 6. *Cellis arvis.*] A poetic Transposition, for *Cæsubum ab arvis reconditum*. So in the following Verse *dementes ruinas parabat Regina*; for *demens Regina ruinas parabat*.

† 10. *Virorum morbo turpium.*] That is *qui turpi morbo laborabant*. 'Tis well known from *Lucian* and *Claudian* to what a Degree Eunuchs were infamous by their Debaucherys. Instead of *morbo virorum* Dr. Bently puts *opprobriorum*, which 'tis sufficient to reject, because 'tis useless at the best, and has no other Foundation but the vane Conjecture of a Commentator.

Quidlibet impotens sperare.] The Construction is, *ita impotens sui, ut quidlibet sperare auderet*.

† 13. *Vix una sospes navis.*] HORACE is mistaken, says Mr. Dacier after Mr. le Fevre. But, on the contrary, the two Commentators are mistaken, and HORACE speaks Truth. In the Fight only one Part of *Antony's* Fleet engag'd, which *Augustus* in Hopes of a vast Booty had resolv'd to spare: but so obstinate was the Resistance of the Enemy that he was oblig'd to set it on Fire: very few Vessels were preserv'd from the Flames. Of these alone the Poet speaks. When therefore he says *vix una sospes navis ab ignibus*, 'tis not easy to decide justly whether he has exaggerated? or if he has, 'tis an Exaggeration generally receiv'd, and which cannot be reasonably blam'd in a Poet. The other Part of *Antony's* Ships, and *Cleopatra's* Fleet fled long before this Combustion without ever engaging. HORACE does not say one Word of them. All these Facts are evident from *Dio* to whom Mr. Dacier refers Us.

† 14. *Lymphatam Mareotico.*] This Expression has great Energy, and forms a most beautiful Sense. *Lymphari* is for *Nymphari*, and signifies *to be frantic, to be vision struck*, because it was believ'd that the *Nymphs* struck with Frenzy all those who had the Rashness to behold them.

† 15. *Veros timores.*] This is say'd by Opposition to *quidlibet impotens sperare*. Vane were *Cleopatra's* Hopes, well-grounded her Fears.

† 16. *Ab Italiâ volantem.*] The ambitious Queen sail'd from *Ægypt* with a num'rous and formidable Fleet; violently bearing down upon *Italy* as upon a Prey that cou'd not escape her. This Prey, of her Pursues the Object, becomes the Object of her Terrors. From *Italy* she flies in great Disorder with crouded Sails to save herself in *Ægypt*. What a Change! The Beauty of this Passage has escap'd the Commentators.

Here again *le Fevre* and Mr. Dacier treat HORACE with impertinent Chicane. *Octavian*, say they, did not pursue *Cleopatra*, the Poet therefore advances a Falshood. The Matter of Fact is this. As

soon as the Prince saw himself sure of the Victory, he dispatch'd a Part of his Fleet after *Antony* and *Cleopatra*: 'tis *Dio* who says so; *Tunc autem Cæsar emisit classis suæ partem, quæ Antonium ac Cleopatram insequeretur.* This alone might authorise a Poet to say that this Prince gave Chase to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. *Dio* adds, that *Octavian*, after he had at *Brundisium* appeas'd the Mutiny of the Soldiers, sail'd to *Asia* with such Rapidity, that *Cleopatra* and *Antony* heard at the same Time of his Departure for *Italy*, and his Return from *Italy* to *Ægypt*; *tantâ celeritate in Asiam advenit, ut de ejus discessu simul redituque Antonius & Cleopatra cognoverint.* Lastly, *HORACE* has express'd himself like *Florus*. The latter says that *Cleopatra* was the first Leader in the Flight, that *Antony* quickly follow'd, and that *Octavian* follow'd close at their Heels, *dux fugæ regina, mox sequutus Antonius, sed instare vestigiis Cæsar.* Certainly if We shou'd blame One of the two, 'tis the Historian and not the Poet. But no; they both are in the Right, they attribute to *Octavian* what is done by his Order and under his Eyes. Thus We express ourselves ev'ry Day, and the *latin* Authors abound in these Ways of speaking.

¶ 24. *Classe citâ reparavit oras.*] I must justify myself upon the Sense I have given to this Expression, and justify *HORACE* upon the Fact declar'd in it.

The *Latins* us'd *parare* to signify to purchase: so *Catullus* says *parare* and *comparare homines ad lecticam*; and *Cicero*, *parare hortos trans Tiberim.* Of *parare* they made *reparare*, that is *iterum parare*, which they us'd in two Senses nearly ally'd. For Example, the Lawyers said *reparare boves*, that is, to sue for new Oxen in the Stead of those one has bought for Husbandry, and which were not found proper. They also say'd *reparare merces* to signify to barter Commodities, or to buy new ones in the Place of those they had already sold. I believe *HORACE* has follow'd one of these two Senses. *Cleopatra* saw that *Ægypt* was become useles to her, and had Thoughts of quitting it for another Country, *reparare*. She did not however

however do so, *non reparavit*. This Expression therefore is good Latin. I add that it is HORACE's, he has us'd it in the ODE *quid dedicatum*, where he calls *vina Syra reparata merce* Wines purchas'd with the Mony Syrian Merchandises were sold for, or Wines barter'd against such Merchandises, to replace the Provision of the preceding Year.

Le Fevre has attack'd this Passage in another Respect. HORACE, says he, is in the Wrong for saying *Cleopatra* did not imploy her Fleet to seek an Asylum in Countrys forein and unknown. He adds that *Plutarch* and *Dio* say formally the Reverse. 'Tis true this Queen gave Orders that a Fleet and Troops shou'd be kept ready in the arabic Gulf, that she might elsewhere seek her Safety, which she despered of finding in *Aegypt*: but the *Arabians*, by the Persuasion of *Quintus Didius* Governor of Syria, having set her Ships on Fire, and the Kings of *Arabia* refusing to give her a Retreat, she took the Resolution to shut up all the Harbors of *Aegypt*, and to oppose *Octavian's* Descent. This is what the two Historians say whom *le Fevre* cites against HORACE. Thus our Poet draws his Defense from the very Arms that are made Use of to attack him.

† 25. *Jacentem regiam*.] Dr. Bentley, upon the Authority of a single Manuscript, requires Us to read here *tacentem regiam*. He gives a Reason for it. *Jacens*, says he, wou'd signify here the same Thing as *humilis*, *ignobilis*, which cou'd not be say'd of *Cleopatra's* Palace; or it must have the same Sense as *diruta*, *destrueta*, which wou'd be against History. The Dilemma appears to me not just. I deny both Propositions, and I make a third quite different. *Jacens* in this Verse signifies neither *humilis*, nor *diruta*; but *mæsta*, *desolata*, *desperata*, *consternata*, which is good Latin. Now this Idea agrees perfectly with *Cleopatra's* Palace, in the Situation wherein She is represented both by the Poet and the Historians. The Expression too and the Thought are more beautiful. The Poet

opposes *jacentem regiam* to *vultu sereno*, as he does *fortis* to *asperas*, which does not appear in the other Sentiments.

¶ 26. *Asperas*.] This Word taken in the Sense of *asperatas*, *exacerbatas*, presents a mighty pretty Image, and quite conformable to History. *Cleopatra* having been by *Proculeius* prevented to stab herself with a Ponyard, apply'd an Aspic to her Arm. 'Tis say'd that to render it more furious She provok'd it by a golden Spindel. *Aspidem perhibent*, says *Plutarch*, *fuso aureo ipsam laceffentis & stimulantis adripuisse Cleopatraz brachium*. Thus dy'd one of the most beautiful and most ambitious Princesses in the World, at the Age of thirty-eight Years, whereof she had reign'd seventeen.

C A R M E N XVI.

Solatur Asterien de mariti absentia sollicitam, & ut in ejus fide perseveret hortatur.

L. 3.
Od 7.

QUID fies, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent vere Favonii,
Thynâ merce beatum,
Constantis juvenem fide

5 Gygen? Ille Notis actus ad Oricum
Post insana Capre fidera, frigidas
Noctes non sine multis
Infomnis lacrymis agit.

Atqui sollicitæ nuntius hospitæ,
10 Suspirare Chloen, & miseram tuis
Dicens ignibus uri,
Tentat mille vafer modis.
Ut Prætum mulier perfida credulum
Falsis impulerit criminibus, nimis
15 Casto Bellerophonti
Maturare necem, refert.

Narrat

Ode XVI. HORACE'S ODES.

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teen. With her fell the Monarchy of *Ægypt*, after it had subsisted 294 Years under thirteen Kings of the Family of the *Lagides*.

† 30. *Sævis Liburnis, &c.*] This is the Construction: *Scilicet mulier non humilis inuidebat hanc Cæsari gloriam, ut ab eo Liburnis navibus deportata tamquam privata femina in triumpho duceretur.* HORACE mentions the *liburnian Gallies*, not only to do Honor to his illustrious Patron who commanded this Squadron; but besides, because they help'd very much to gain the Battel.

In this ODE there are two Verses of a Cadence very disagreeable, to wit,

Antebac nefas depromere Cæcubum.
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.

O D E XVI.

He consoles *Asterie* on the Absence of her Husband, and exhorts her to continue faithful to him.

CEASE with jealous Fears, *Asterie*, to mourn thy Spouse's Absence. Soon shall the Gales to Navigation favorable bring him and Spring to *Italy* together. Soon at thy Feet the charming Man shall lay the richest Toys of the *bithynian* Staple, and confirm his Vows of Tendernefs and Truth.

As to thy Arms he was with fierce Impatience flying, the stormy *Kids* excited southern Winds which drove him from his Course to *Oricum*, where bath'd in Tears he languishes for thy warm Joys the live-long Night, and Sleep is grown a Stranger to his Eyes.

Yet the sly Envoy of his anxious Hostess depaints the Fury of the Flames his Beauty has in *Chloe's* Bosom kindled; and no wheedling Artifice forgets to fright or tempt him to her Bed.

He represents how treacherous *Antea* fir'd at the Scorn of over-chast *Bellerophon* fix'd Crimes on him. that were her own, and instigated credulous *Prætus* to accelerate his Death.

M 5.

Next

- Narrat penè datum Pelea Tartaro,
 Magnessam Hyppoliten dum fugit abstinens :
 Et peccare docentes
 20 Pellax historias movet ;
 Frustra : nam scopulis furdior Icari
 Voces audit, adhuc integer. At tibi
 Ne vicinus Enipeus
 Plus justo placeat, cave.
 25 Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
 Æquè conspicitur gramine Martio,
 Nec quisquam citus æquè
 Tusco denatat alveo :
 Primâ nocte domum claude, neque in vias
 30 Sub cantu querulæ despice tibîæ :
 Et te sæpè vocanti
 Duram, difficilis mane.

R E M A R K S on ODE XVI.

THIS ODE is intirely moral. The Fidelity of an absent Spouse is represented to *Afterie* as a Motive to gard herself against ev'ry Thing capable of bringing her Honor in Question. The Sentiments are natural and the Versification charming.

‡ 2. *Favonii.*] This is say'd in general for the Winds of the Spring, which open the Sea and facilitate Navigation; for the West-wind was not proper to bring *Gyges* from *Epirus* to *Italy*.

‡ 3. *Thynâ merce.*] Toys of Iron, Steel, Gold and Silver, which the *Bithynians* made with great Neatness.

‡ 8. *Multis infomnis lacrymis.*] I have say'd that *HORACE* was not careful enough in avoiding the jingling Rhymes of Words. Here they seem well-plac'd to shew the Melancholy with which *Gyges* was oppress'd. Mr. *Dacier* has made the same Observation upon the Verse, *jam satis terris nivis atque diræ grandinis.*

Next He recounts how *Peleus's* Refusal to satisfy the Passion of *Hippolyte* prov'd almost fatal to his Life. In short, this Minister of Vice urges a thousand curious Storys capable of leading Innocence astray.

All, All in vain ; for hitherto *Gyges's* Heart is Proof to ev'ry Wile, and as a Rock unmov'd. Be Thou too on thy Gard lest *Enipeus* thy Neighbor insinuate himself too far into thy Affections.

Tho' with Address superior no One guides the bounding Courser in the Field of *Mars*, tho' no One swims adown the *tuscan* Flood with equal swiftnefs, early each Ev'ning barricade thy Doors, and when thou hear'st his Lyre's plaintive Sounds, beware of peeping at him thro' thy Window. He in Reproaches bold will call thee *an insensible* ; be more, be *inflexibly rigorous*.

‡ 10. *Tuis . . . ignibus.*] *tuis amoribus, tuo conjuge.*

‡ 15. *Nimis casto.*] *Bellerophon's* Refusal to gratify *Antea's* criminal Desires appear'd to this immodest Woman an Excess of Virtue. So true it is that ev'ry Passion is unjust.

‡ 20. *Pellax historias movet.*] This Verse presents in three Words two Corrections, *pellax* instead of *fallax*, and *movet* instead of *monet*. The first has been justify'd by Dr. *Bentley*. The second is very good *Latin*, and is authoris'd besides by four Manuscripts. *Torrentius* judges it preferable to the common Reading, and it has been receiv'd into the Text by Dr. *Bentley* and Mr. *Cuningam*. In short, these two Words *pellax* and *movet* have a peculiar Force here, to express the Artifice of the confident Seducer.

‡ 22. *At tibi, &c.*] There is Room to imagin She stood in need of this delicate Advice. I have in the ODE *vides ut altâ* justify'd the Expression of the last Verse of this, against the Criticism of *le Fevre* and Mr. *Dacier*. I find Mr. *Baxter* justifies it after another Manner, which at the Bottom comes to the same

Thing. *Dura*, says he, and *difficilis*, are not synonymous Terms: the first denotes *insensibility*, and the second

C A R M E N XVII.

* A. U. C. DCCXXV.

A D A S I N I U M P O L L I O N E M.

Hortatur ut, intermissis tragœdiis, det se totum scribendæ bellorum civilium historiæ.

L. 2.
Od. 1.

- M**OTUM ex Metello consule civicum,
 Bellique causas, & vitia, & modos,
 Ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque
 Principum amicitias & arma
 5 Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
 Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ,
 Tractas, & incedis per ignes
 Suppositos cineri doloso.
 Paulum severæ Musa tragœdiæ
 10 Desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
 Res ordinariæ, grande munus
 Cecropio repetes cothurno,
 Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
 Et consulenti Pollio curæ:
 15 Cui laurus æternos honores
 Dalmatio peperit triumpho

second rough Treatment ; *dura est quæ sensu amoris caret, difficilis autem amantibus aspera.* I have follow'd this Explication in the *English*.

O D E XVII.

TO ASINIUS POLLIO.

He exhorts him to quit the Theater for a Time, and speedily to finish the History of the civil Wars.

EREGIOUS Protector of Innocence in Distress, great Oracle of the list'ning Senat, You in *Dalmatia's* Planes have Laurels reap'd, which Lenth of Time can never wither. To so many glorious Titles, which to my *Pollio* secure immortal Fame, You thirst to add a new One, by presenting Us the History of the civil Wars, which broke out in the Consulat of *Metellus*. You are going to detect the most latent Causes of those Commotions ; to unfold their whole Conduct, Circumstances and Disorders ; to portray those cruel Vicissitudes, which serv'd for a Spectacle and Diversion to Fortune ; to unveil the secret Intrigues of our Chiefs, whose Coalition alas ! was of public Misery the Source ; in short to expose to our View Arms dy'd with Blood as yet unexpiated. Of the Hazard and Difficulty, which attend such an Undertaking, no One can be more sensible than You. On Fire You walk beneath deceitful Ashes hid. This Work demands your whole Attention. Quit then for a while the Theater, where You have more than once the *tragic* Muse exhibited in all her Majesty. Shortly You may resume the Buskin, and re-enter the Lists of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, when You have finish'd the Description of those grand Events, which constitute so considerable a Part of our History.

Now

- Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
 Præstringis aures : jam litui strepunt :
 Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
 20 Terret equos, equitumque vultus.
 Videre magnos jam videor duces
 Non indecoro pulvere fordidos,
 Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
 Præter atrocem animum Catonis.
- 25 Juno & Deorum quisquis amicior
 Afris, inultâ cesserat impotens
 Tellure, victorum nepotes
 Retulit inferias Jugurthæ.
- Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
 30 Campus sepulcris impia prælia
 Testatur, auditumque Medis
 Hesperiae sonitum ruinae ?
 Quis gurgēs, ecquæ flumina lugubris
 Ignara belli ? Quod mare Dauniæ
 35 Non decoloravere cædes ?
 Quæ caret ora cruore nostro ?
 Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, jocis
 Cææ retractes munera neniae
 Mecum Dioneo sub antro
 40 Quære modos levior plectro.

REMARKS on ODE XVII.

POLLIO from 715 liv'd at *Rome* in a private Station.
 This furnish'd him ample Opportunity of cultivating the polite Letters, and cherishing a Commerce with the learned Men of his Age, of which he was himself one of the principal Ornaments. He improv'd his Leisure in the Exercise of the great Talents he had for Literature. From his Pen flow'd sev'ral Tragedys, which in the Judgment of *Virgil* and
 HORACE

Now You strike our Ears with the threat'ning Clangor of the Trumpet and the shrill Voice of the Clarion ; Now Horses and Horsemen dazzled by the Blaze of Arms precipitate their Flight ; Now our Generals amid the Field of Battel are smear'd with noble Dust ; where-e'er I cast my Eyes I see the World bend beneath the Victor : the inflexible Courage of *Cato* is alone unshaken in the common Fall of the Universe.

Doutless, *Juno* and the gardian Pow'rs of *Afric* constrain'd to fly the Land they were unable to defend, thought they cou'd not better be reveng'd upon their Conq'rors than by sacrificing their Descendants to *Jugurtha's* Manes.

How many Fields, enrich'd with *roman* Blood and crouded with our Tombs, for ever will preserve the Memory of our detestable Combats and *Hesperia's* Ruin, whose Noise was wafted to the distant *Parthians* ? Is there a River ? Is there a Sea ? Is there a Shore that has not by our horrid Slaughters been infanguin'd ?

But whither forward Muse dost Thou transport Me ? Shall we pretend thus to revive the plaintive Strains of the Bard of *Ceos* ? Fram'd as We are for Themes of Mirth and Love, let Us follow where our Genius leads. *Venus* will inspire Us with Accents less serious, and more within our Reach.

HORACE exalted the Theater of *Rome* as high as that of *Athens*. But what chiefly engag'd and most deserv'd his Attention, was the History he had undertaken to write of the civil Wars. The Work was already pretty well advanc'd, when our Poet address'd this ODE to him. It was to be fear'd the Applauses of the Theater wou'd rob him of the Glory of finishing a History so interesting for the Republic. HORACE exhorts him not to desist ; but this, in so delicate a Manner, that whilst he is lavish of his Praises, he

1

gives

gives him to perceive that this Enterprize demanded the nicest Precautions.

This ODE is not exempt from Altercation. What is the Subject of it? What the Date? These two Questions have been debated between Mr. *Dacier* and Mr. *Masson*. All the Interpreters are for the latter; but Mr. *Dacier* treats all this as Prejudice, and requires Reasons. Let us see whether there are good ones on either Side, and from such select the best, in Order to follow them, at the Risk of displeasing one of the Partys.

"HORACE, says Mr. *Dacier*, was come from
 "bearing Arms under *Brutus* against *Octavian*, had
 "with much ado obtain'd his Pardon by the Interces-
 "sion of *Mæcenæ*s, and still ev'ry Day experienc'd the
 "Difficulty of being establish'd in the good Graces of
 "a Prince after a Fault of this Nature. Besides,
 "several considerable Friends of his were in the same
 "Case. *Pollio*'s History then cou'd not but revive
 "some Facts, which, by the Lateness of their Date,
 "might prove detrimental to him and his Friends.
 "To prevent this Misfortune, he begs of *Pollio* to
 "suspend, for a Time, the Course of this History;
 "but this he does in such a Manner, that tho' *Pollio*
 "shou'd continue it, he has Nothing farther to appre-
 "hend. By praising this History, by deploring the
 "civil Wars, and by throwing the Cause of all these
 "funest Events upon Circumstances wherein neither
 "himself nor his Friends were concern'd, and upon
 "Times that cou'd not be imputed to them, he al-
 "ready prepossesses *Octavian*'s Mind, and by this Arti-
 "fice shields himself. Perhaps too HORACE did
 "not fear so much for his Friends and himself, as for
 "*Pollio*. At that Conjuncture, the History of the
 "civil Wars was a Work of Delicacy, wherein it was
 "very difficult for him, attach'd as he was to *Antony*,
 "to observe all the Precautions necessary not to give
 "Offence to *Octavian*."

In this Exposition of the Subject of this ODE ev'ry Thing has need of Proofs, and he produces none.

In

In the first Place, he supposes that the Poet made this Piece at the Age of 25, the second Year after the Battel of *Philippi*, that is in 714, two Years after he had obtain'd his Pardon by the Favor of *Mæcenas*. Now *Pollio* was too busy that Year on Occasion of the *perusian* War, the Peace of *Brundisium*, and his own Consulat, to be able to spend any Time on the Composition of his Tragedys or his History of the civil Wars. Besides, HORACE was not known to *Mæcenas* in 714, nor indeed till 716. He says so himself in one of his SATIRES written in 723, where he declares it to be almost eight Years since *Mæcenas* honor'd him with his good Graces :

*Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus,
Ex quo Mæcenas me cæpit habere suorum
In numero.*

Without Foundation too he assures Us that HORACE obtain'd his Pardon at his Return from *Philippi* in 713 by the Intercession of *Mæcenas*. HORACE no where says so. His Access to *Mæcenas* was owing to *Varius* and *Virgil*. Now *Virgil* did not come to *Rome* till tow'rd the End of 713, some Months after HORACE; and *Virgil* far from being in a Condition to procure for others the Acquaintance and Protection of *Mæcenas*, was endeavoring to procure these two Advantages for himself. I add that HORACE had not Need of any one to obtain his Pardon from *Octavian*. After *Brutus's* Defeat a general Amnesty was granted to all those who had follow'd his Party, and upon this Promise the vanquish'd Troops rang'd themselves on the Side of the victorious. *Appian* expressly says so in his fourth Book of the civil Wars. *Exercitus, cognitâ Bruti morte, misit legatos ad Cæsarem & Antonium, impetratâque veniâ, inter eos divisus est.* See the Remarks upon the 15th Verse of the ODE *à sèpè mecum*.

Secondly, was it a likely Method for gaining the good Graces of *Octavian* and *Mæcenas* to praise *Pollio* in 714, who had espoused the Side of the *Antonys* in the *perusian* War, which broke out tow'rd the Close

of the preceding Year ; and who was actually posted in *cisalpin Gaul* with an Intent of precluding the Passage of the *Alps* from *Octavian's* Legions. So pow'rful was this Prince at *Rome* since the preceding Year, that *Lucius Antony* Consul and Brother of the *Triumvir* was oblig'd to quit it. Far was he therefore from suff'ring *Pollio* to exercise the Consulship there. Besides, *Pollio* did not come back to *Rome* till after the Return of *Mark Antony*. The War of *Perusia* lasted till Spring 714. *Dio* writes that *Mark Antony*, whom *Pollio* had join'd, did not return from *Ægypt* to *Italy* till *July* of the same Year. The Peace of *Brundisium* was not concluded, by the Mediation of *Cocceius*, *Mæcenas* and *Pollio*, till September at the soonest, and it was not 'till afterwards that *Pollio* enter'd into Office, which, besides, he was immediately forc'd to quit, new Consuls being created for the Remainder of the Year. The Praises which *HORACE* gives him here, wou'd therefore be very ill-plac'd, and a sure Means of alienating the Affections of *Octavian* and *Mæcenas*, at a Time he was studying to win them.

Thirdly, when Mr. *Dacier* says that *HORACE* earnestly desires *Pollio* to interrupt for some Time his History, lest the Remembrance of what was past shou'd indispose *Octavian* tow'rds him, he seems to me to reason weakly. Suppose *Pollio* had for some Months or even for a whole Year defer'd the Publication of his History, wou'd *HORACE* have gain'd any Thing by that ? wou'd he have had less to fear from the Resentment of *Octavian* ? Yes, replies Mr. *Dacier*. " The Poet by praising this History, by deploring the civil Wars, and by throwing the Cause of all those lamentable Events upon Circumstances in which neither He nor his Friends were concern'd, and upon Times which cou'd not be imputed to them, already forestal'd *Octavian's* Thoughts, and shelter'd himself by this Contrivance." But if that had suffic'd to screen *HORACE* from this Prince's Resentment, why is he so terribly afraid of *Pollio's* publishing his Work during the Year of his Consulat ?
Shou'd

Shou'd not this ODE extinguish the Prince's Indignation and the Poet's Inquietude? Besides, HORACE did not act in so grand a Manner under *Brutus*, as to fear that the Idea of this War wou'd cool the Affections of *Octavian* tow'rds him.

All this proves that we shou'd seek some other Design of this ODE than that which Mr. *Dacier* has propos'd, or rather that it was useless for him to seek a new one. The common Sentiment, which I have follow'd, is alone true; the Reading of this Piece presents it naturally; it is subject to no Difficulty; and it is authoris'd by an old Manuscript cited by *Turnebus* and *Torrentius*, which bears for Title *ad Asinium Pollionem, virum consularem; ut intermissis tragædiis, belli civilis describat historiam.*

As to the Date of this ODE, *Rodellius* places it at the Year 719, when the Death of *Sextus Pompey* seem'd to have put an End to the civil Wars. I chuse to affix it to the Beginning of 725, when these Wars were intirely terminated by *Antony's* Death. Twelve Years had interven'd since HORACE had carry'd Arms against *Octavian*, and he had since repar'd his Fault by a constant Attachment to his Service. *Pollio* for seven or eight Years had Time to work at Leisure upon his theatric Pieces and his History of the civil Wars.

† 1. *Ex Metello consule.*] The *Triumvirat* of *Cæsar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, which was form'd in 694, was one of the Seeds of the civil Wars. The Consuls of this Year were *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Celer* and *Lucius Afranius*.

† 2. *Vitia & modos.*] The former of these two Words marks the Effects, the Consequences, the Disorders of the civil Wars, *vitia*; the latter marks the Conduct, the Circumstances, the Detail, *modos*.

† 4. *Graves amicitias.*] *Velleius* speaking of the first *Triumvirat* has fill'd up the whole Idea of this Epithet. *Inter Cæsarem, says he, Pompeium & Crassum inita potentiae societas, quæ Urbi Orbique terrarum, nec minus diversoque tempore ipsis exitiabilis fuerit.*

✧ 5. *Nondum expiatis, &c.*] HORACE speaks here of the Ceremonys of Expiation which the Pontifs us'd to perform for the Purification of the People when they were polluted with the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens, as we see in the fifth Book of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. Nothing more simple or natural than this Explication. The civil Wars not being then terminated, they cou'd not expiate the Blood that had been shed, *nondum expiatus erat cruor*. HORACE again expressees the same Thing in the same Terms in the ODE *jam satis terris*, when he says *cui dabit partes scelus expiandi Juppiter?* Thus he spoke two Years after the ODE we now examin.

✧ 6. *Periculosa plenum opus aleæ.*] This Verse and the two following represent to *Pollio* the Difficulty of his Undertaking, not to discourage him from it, but rather to convince him that he cou'd not use too much Circumspection in the Conduct of it, either on Account of the Importance of the Matter, or not to be bias'd by his former Inclinations which had attach'd him to *Antony*. Besides it was incumbent on him to preserve Truth which constitutes the chief Character of History, and also to regard the Interests of Familys, two Things not easily reconcil'd. Danger therefore was one Part of the Difficulty. To this Mr. *Dacier* opposes that the History of civil Wars is not in that Respect more difficult than the History of forein Wars, or than History in general, and that, on the contrary, 'tis more easy. "These are his own Terms in his Answer to Mr. *Masson*." I refer Mr. *Dacier* to himself. "Is this History of the civil Wars, says he in the same Answer, so easy a Work, that HORACE might say to *Pollio* *mox ubi publicas res ordinatis*, in a short Time, when you have finish'd this History You may resume Tragedy." "I think, adds he, that this Work was important enough to imploy *Pollio* much longer than this Term *mox* supposes." In my Opinion, Mr. *Dacier* here oppugns his own Objection: so formal a Contradiction spares me the Trouble of an Answer.

† 9. *Severæ Musa tragædiæ, &c.*] *Servius* says upon the eighty-fourth Verse of the third *Bucolic* of *Virgil*, that this Verse shou'd be understood of Tragedys. All the Interpreters have judg'd like *Servius*. No matter; this Explication does not accommodate Mr. *Dacier*, hence *Servius*'s Authority goes for Nothing, he must be mistaken, and all the rest after him. Presently We shall see the same *Servius* become an Oracle against all the Historians in Favor of Mr. *Dacier*. I dare maintain the Reverse, and I think with greater Justice. When *Servius* is alone, I set little Value on his Sentiments; I shall presently tell my Reasons. When he is supported by the Testimony of others, I readily build upon his Authority. But all Authority apart, the Passage of HORACE naturally presents the Idea of Tragedys. There we see the Muse who presides over it, *Musa tragædiæ*; the Character of Tragedy, *severæ tragædiæ*; the Buskin peculiar to tragic Players, *cothurno*; the Word *munus* was an usual Term to signify these Sorts of Spectacles. Had HORACE intended to speak a metaphoric Language, he shou'd not have us'd the Word *severæ*, which only suits Tragedy, and cannot be accommodated to the civil Wars. Besides, where's the Necessity of having Recourse to this metaphoric Sense? Mr. *Dacier* pretends that the natural Sense cannot subsist. "HORACE, says he, reasons very badly if he says "to *Pollio*: in writing the civil Wars You labor upon "a very dang'rous Work, and You walk upon Fire "concealed beneath deceitful Ashes. Be advis'd, renounce Tragedy for a while, quit the Theater, and "work upon those civil Wars." I confess this Reasoning is not intirely just, but whose is it? HORACE's or Mr. *Dacier*'s? Here is the Poet's Reas'ning: The Work of the civil Wars, which You have enterpris'd, is delicate and difficult; it requires Penetration to discover their real Causes, *causas*; Exactitude, to expose their Consequences and Conduct, *vitia & modos*; Precaution, to not indanger the Interests of the Partys, *periculosæ plenum opus aleæ, &c.* Be advis'd, quit ev'ry

ev'ry other Care and attend on this only. Hereafter You may write for the Theater, as You have already done with Success. The History You have in Hand is sufficient at present to ingross your whole Time. This Explication is natural, at least as receivable as Mr. *Dacier's*, and consequently preferable, since we ought not to have Recourse to a figurative Sense but when the natural Sense cannot take Place. HORACE mentions these Tragedys only to have an Opportunity of making a Compliment to *Pollio*, who had acquir'd much Reputation in that Kind of Writing. In the ART OF POETRY We shall see *tragica camena* in the same Sense that we see here *Musa tragœdiæ*.

† 10. *Mox ubi publicas res ordinaris.*] All the Commentators as well ancient as modern have committed the same Fault here, says Mr. *Dacier*, in explaining *publicas res* of the civil Wars, which shou'd be understood of the Affairs of the Republic, and which neither Language nor good Sense suffer to signify any Thing else. But does Mr. *Dacier* pretend that civil Wars are not public Affairs? Is there any Thing more interesting to a State? Does not He, who writes the History of them, write the Transactions of the Republic during the Course of them? I see Nothing in this Expression against Language. To say that good Sense is shock'd, is a Manner of speaking, which, when 'tis not prov'd, signifies precisely Nothing. Ev'ry One pretends to have good Sense on his Side, but the Reader requires Reasons. Mr. *Dacier* was not able to produce good Ones for this. *Ordinare* does not necessarily determin the Rest of the Phrase to the Sense he affixes to it; it may very well signify the Arrangement and Composition of different Matters, which enter into the Body of a literary Work. The *latin* Poet who was a great Imitator of the *Greeks* has from them taken this Expression. They say'd, *SUNTATTEIN*; *Ordinare*, for *librum scribere*, & *SUNTAGMA*, *Compositio*, for *liber*, *volumen*. HORACE therefore means Nothing else, when he says to *Pollio ubi publicas res ordinaris*,

naris, but this; when you shall have compos'd your Work of the civil Wars, which make so considerable a Part of our History; and thus I have render'd it in the Translation. This cannot be the natural Sense of the Poet, says Mr. Dacier. *Pollio* was actually Consul when this Piece was written, and this Verse admirably well expresses the Occupations of the Consul. Nothing is less sure than this Supposition. I shall presently demonstrate the Falsity of it.

✧ 14. *Pollio*.] I have already spoken of him in the ODE *pastor quum traheret*. He was an Orator, a Poet, and Historian of the first Rank in the most knowing and most delicate Age of the *roman Republic*. His History of the civil Wars was compris'd in seventeen Books, and of all his Works the Loss of this chiefly deserves our Regrets. As he had been engag'd in the greatest Affairs, he was able to furnish Us with many Particularitys, which escap'd the Knowledg of other Historians. He is prais'd by *Quintilian* and *Valerius Maximus* for the Purity of his Language and the Nobleness of his Stile. He dy'd in 766 a Year before *Augustus*.

Consulenti curiæ.] At last, says Mr. Dacier, here is the Consulat of *Pollio* clearly mark'd: He was therefore Consul the Year that HORACE address'd this ODE to him. I deny these two Propositions, and the Dependence he finds in them to conclude the One from the other. In the first Place, these Words don't necessarily mark the Consulat of *Pollio*. As much might be say'd of all the Senators of distinguish'd Merit, who assisted the Senat by their Knowledg. *Consulenti* signifys simply *consultanti* who consults, *concilianti* who deliberates. Secondly, HORACE cou'd not address *Pollio* as being actually Consul. He had been, but was so no more. The Proof hereof is manifest in the following Verses, as we shall see immediately. Thirdly, tho' HORACE shou'd have design'd *Pollio*'s Consulat by these Words *præsidium consulenti curiæ*, it does not follow that *Pollio* exercis'd it the very Year of the Composition of this Piece.

The

The Poet might as well praise his Hero by this Passage in any Year following, thus *consulenti curiæ* decides Nothing, and may be easily explain'd in Favor of both Sentiments.

¶ 16. *Dalmatio triumpho.*] *Dalmatia* was Part of old *Illyricum*. *Pollio* did not triumph till after his Consulat; consequently he was not Consul the Year that *HORACE* compos'd this ODE; the Poet cou'd not speak of a Triumph that did not yet exist. *Appian* in his fifth Book of the civil Wars says that *Antony* sent an Army against the *Parthinæans*, a People of *Illyricum*, who had made Inroads into *Macedonia*; *exercitum misit in Parthinæos gentem Illyricam, Macedoniam incursare solitos*. *Dio* in his forty-fourth Book writes that *Pollio* by some Battels appeas'd a Commotion at *Epidaurus* a City of the *Parthinæans*; *eodem tempore apud Epidaurios (Parthinæorum urbs est Epidaurus) tumultum coortum Pollio, factis aliquot præliis, compescuit*. In the Marbles, wherein they preserv'd the Memory of Triumphs, it is mark'd that *Pollio* Proconsul in the Year triumph'd the twenty-fifth of October, for having conquer'd the *Parthinæans*; *Caius Asinius Cneii filius Pollio proconsul anno ex Parthinæis octavo calendas Novembres*. These three Passages naturally give Light to one another. The first mentions an Expedition against the *Parthinæans*, and that after *Pollio*'s Consulat. The second names *Pollio* as Chief of the Expedition, which he refers to the Year 715 which follow'd the Consulat. In fine, the third Passage says expressly that *Pollio* was Proconsul, and consequently that the Time of his Consulat was past. True it is that the Year of his Triumph is effac'd in the Inscription; but yet it is clearly mark'd in the Lines immediatly preceding, where 'tis say'd that *Lucius Marcius Censorinus* was Consul: now the Consulat of this *Censorinus* falls out exactly in 715, which *Dio* marks for the Year of *Pollio*'s Triumph.

To Proofs so evident Mr. *Dacier* only opposes the bare Authority of *Servius*. This Grammarian in

in his Notes upon the third *Bucolic* of *Virgil* says : *pervenerat Pollio ad consulatum post triumphum Dalmatium, nam vicerat Salonas civitatem Dalmatiae.* He adds upon the following Piece : *Asinius Pollio ductor Germanici exercitus, quum post captas Salonas Dalmatiae Civitatem primò meruisset lauream, post etiam consulatum adeptus fuisset, eodem anno suscepit filium, quem a captâ civitate Saloninum vocavit, cui nunc Virgilius genetbliacon dicit.* Here, says Mr. Dacier, are Authoritys which render invincible what I advance. These Authoritys well counted are reduc'd precisely to One, except he intends to multiply *Servius* here by Way of Amends for the Slight he made of his Opinion upon the ninth Verse. This *Servius* was then supported by the Suffrage of all the Interpreters ; but as he did not think like Mr. Dacier, he despis'd him. Here he contradicts the Monuments of History ; but Mr. Dacier is accommodated by his Testimony, hence this Testimony grows respectable, and no other can counter-balance it. I have already declar'd what Judgment shou'd be form'd of *Servius*. This Grammarian was by more than three Ages posterior to *Pollio*, *HORACE*, and *Virgil*. We have Nothing of his We can be sure of, We have only Compilations extracted from his Commentaries by other Grammarians still more modern, who have not fail'd to blend their own Reflexions with them. *Le Fevre* has sayd so, Mr. *Masson* has repeated it, and Mr. Dacier in his Note upon this Verse *pernicis uxor Appuli*, calls him plently the false *Servius*. Whatever he says as a Chronologer is no more to be depended upon than any Thing else, when it contradicts History. That does not hinder Us from finding in these Extracts many good Things : but is what he cites here of the Number ? That is impossible, without giving the Lye to *Appian*, *Dio*, and Calendars of Marble, which are much surer Guarantees of History than the Shreds of *Servius*. This Triumph of *Pollio* for the Taking of *Salona*, which is made anterior to the Consulat of *Pollio*,

is manifestly a Mistake of the Compilers. In the Historys of that Time I meet with but two Sieges of *Salonæ*, the first, in 707, and the second in 759, neither of which was form'd by *Pollio*. What the pretended *Servius* adds, that *Pollio* the Year of his Triumph had a Son whom he call'd *Saloninus*, and that the Birth of this Son is the Subject of the fourth *Bucolic* of *Virgil* is advanc'd without Foundation, as *P. de la Rue*, and *P. Catrou* have demonstrated. From all this let Us conclude *Pollio's* Triumph posterior to his Consulat.

§ 17. *Jam nunc minaci, &c.*] The five following Stanzas are perfectly fine, the Force of *Lyric* Poesy cou'd go no further. We may affirm that *HORACE* has himself earn'd here the Commendations He gives *Pollio*. The Poet represents Things in so natural and lively a Manner, that he transports his Reader into the Middle of the Action he describes, and this is precisely the Praise he bestows on the *roman* Historian.

§ 21. *Videre magnos, &c.*] The Authority of the Manuscripts is for *audire*, but Reason is for *videre*. *HORACE's* Meaning, says *Dacier*, is that he imagins he hears the Generals giving Orders to the Officers, and animating their Soldiers. Nothing is more insipid than such Explications. The Verb surely must be common to the whole Strophe, in which the Poet represents Actions only, and Actions which are the Object of Sight and not of Hearing. This Correction was made by *Beroaldus*, and it is so natural, so happy, or rather so necessary that *Martignac*, *Dr. Bentley* and *Mr. Cuningam* have made no Difficulty to adopt it.

§ 22. *Non indecoro pulvere sordidos.*] This Expression is doubly figurative, and has a very fine Effect. *Non indecoro* for *valde decoro* is the Figure of Diminution; and *sordidos non indecoro pulvere* is the Figure of Opposition.

§ 24. *Præter atrocem animum.*] This is what *Virgil* calls *virtus ferox*, and *Silius Italicus* terms *atrox virtus*;

virtus; hence it is plain that *atrox* has not always a disadvantageous Sense.

Catonis.] This is that rigid *Cato*, whom an Excess of Virtue transported to Suicide, that he might not survive that Liberty, which had just expir'd with more than forty thousand *Romans* in the *Plains of Pharsalia*. All the Elogys that have been given to this republican Hero fall short in my Opinion of what HORACE says here of him in two Words, that it was easier for *Cæsar* to conquer the Universe than to reduce the inflexible *Cato*.

† 25. *Juno & Deorum, &c.*] HORACE always avoids touching upon the true Causes of the civil Wars.

† 28. *Retulit inferias Jugurthæ.*] I take *retulit* in the Sense of *par pari referre*.

† 29. *Quis non Latino, &c.*] HORACE confines himself no longer to the War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, but exposes in general the lamentable Effects of that War and the others which follow'd it. The Ideas in these two Strophes are magnificent; Rivers and Gulfs are personify'd, and *Italy* is represented as a vast Body, whose Fall resounded even to Countrys the most remote.

† 30. *Impia prælia.*] The Epithet cou'd not offend *Octavian*, as the Poet does not express on which Side the Impiety lay, and as he avoids to specify the second Triumvirat.

† 31. *Medis.*] The *Persians* conquer'd the *Medes*, and the *Parthians* the *Persians*. This Confusion of the three Monarchys pass'd even into the Names. Hence the *Medes* and *Persians* are in HORACE's Language the *Parthians*. These People were very attentive to the Affairs of the *Romans*.

† 37. *Sed ne relictis, &c.*] Here the Poet stops very *à propos*; the next Step was slipp'ry, he cou'd not go on without ent'ring into the Detail of the Wars of the second Triumvirat, that is to say, without glancing on Things, which might have been displeasing to *Octavian*. The ODE *justum ac tenacem*

furnishes Us with a fine Instance of the like Discretion. I must remark HORACE's dextrous Address in the Turn of this last Quatrain. He wou'd give *Pollio* to understand that the remaining Part of his History requir'd great Precautions, and so confirms what he told him before, *periculosæ plenum opes aleæ tractas*, &c.

† 38. *Cææ munera Neniæ.*] *Simonides* was of *Ceos* one of the *Cyclades*. Some of his Verses were so moving that *Catullus* calls 'em the Tears of *Simonides*, HORACE says here the same Thing. *Nenia* signifies

C A R M E N XVIII.

A. U. C. DCCXXV.

AD MARCUM VIPSANIUM
AGRIPPAM.

Se jocosus versibus natum, bellicis virtutibus celebrandis
minimè parem esse.

l. 1.
Od. 6.

Scribêris Vario fortis, & hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis aliti,
Quum rem cunque ferox, navibus aut equis
Miles, te duce, gesserit.

5 Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere, nec gravem
Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii,
Nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulyssæi,
Nec sævam Pelopis domum
Conamur, tenues grandia : dum pudor,
10 Imbellisque lyræ Musa potens vetat
Laudes egregii Cæsaris & tuas

Culpâ

Ode XVIII. HORACE'S ODES.

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signifys a funeral Song, and also the Goddesses invoc'd in such Songs. There are other Significations of this Word in HORACE.

Retrañtes.] This Word signifys properly *iterare*, *renovare*, and the *Latins* have very seldom us'd it for *to retrañt*.

† 39. *Dioneo sub antro.*] Tho' *Dione* be *Venus's* Mother, this Name has been frequently given to *Venus* herself, as *Sol* has been call'd *Hyperion* after his Father. The Poet signifys his Desire to imploy his Pen upon Matters of Gallantry, rather than upon such melancholy Subjects as the civil Wars.

O D E XVIII.

TO MARCUS VIPSIANUS
AGRIPPA.

Horace tells him that being by his Genius qualify'd only for amorous Songs He dares not attempt heroic Subjects.

N O, *Agrippa*, no less a Poet than *Varius* that worthy Rival of *Homer* is capable of singing thy Valor and imprinting their standard Worth on those Victories by Land and Sea, wherein our Warriors so oft have signalis'd themselves under thy Conduct.

Never will I ingage on such a mighty Theme: conscious of my Weakness I will not dare to paint the fatal Anger of inexorable *Achilles*, the naval Exploits of more than one *Ulysses*, or the tragic Fury which drench'd in Tides of Blood the House of *Pelops*. My feeble Muse to soft and sportive Airs accustom'd dares aim no higher, and Respect forbids me to touch upon

Culpâ deterere ingeni.

Quis Martem tunicâ testum adamantinâ
Dignè scripserit, aut pulvere Troïo
.15 Nigrum Merionem, aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem ?

REMARKS on ODE XVIII.

AGRIPPA probably had reproach'd HORACE for not having yet celebrated him in his Verses. The Poet, whilst he excuses himself, satisfys the Reproach. He goes still farther, for he also justfys his Silence with regard to other great Men, who had distinguish'd themselves in the late Wars. But his Excuses may well supply the Place of Encomiums. He names *Octavian*, and only names him, as if thro' profound Respect he durst say no more of Him. The Praises of *Agrippa* are but sketch'd; but he refers him to no less than a second *Homer* to paint them according to their Dignity. The other Generals are represented, as I may so say, in Group, under allegoric Personages which are chosen among the most famous Heros of the *trojan* War. All this is compris'd in few Words, but set off by the Ornaments of the most sublime Poetry.

In the Remarks I shall unfold the Allegory which reigns throughout this ODE, in Order to make it appear that my Conjecture is not ill grounded. When I say Conjecture, I do not say too much. This Sentiment wants Nothing of Certainty. The Piece itself demonstrates it fully. Read it from Beginning to End, You will find neither Coherence nor Beauty in it, but in the Light I consider it. Without that, what is it but a confus'd Medly of Praises, without the least Agreement between the sev'ral Parts. The Elogy of

Agrippa

thine or *Octavian's* Praises, for fear of debasing 'em by my Want of Genius.

Who can in Strains proportionably sublime describe the God of War arm'd in a Rock of Adamant; *Merion* cover'd with a Cloud of Dust in *trojan* Fields; or *Diomed* by *Minerva's* Favor admitted to the Rank of Immortals.

Agrippa is follow'd by that of *Achilles* and *Ulysses*. Next is presented the Ruin of the House of *Pelops*, afterwards appears *Octavian*, and then comes *Agrippa* a second Time. At last *Mars*, *Merion* and *Diomed* close the March and terminate the ODE. Allegory alone can collect in the same Point of View so many diff'rent and distant Parts.

The Subject of the ODE being once well establish'd, it is not difficult to fix very nearly the Year of it's Composition, which I take to be 725, wherein *Octavian* shut the Temple of *Janus*, triumph'd for three Days, and receiv'd divine Honors by a Decree of the Senat.

¶ 1. *Vario.*] HORACE, *Virgil*, *Quintilian*, and *Martial* agree to represent *Varius* as one of the first Authors of his Age for epic and dramatic Poetry. He was of great Service to our Poet in procuring the good Graces of *Mæcenas*, and after *Virgil's* Death was order'd by *Augustus* to revise the *Æneid*.

¶ 3. *Quumcunque.*] Dr. Bentley has prov'd the ordinary Reading defective, and he must have well prov'd it, since Mr. *Cuningam* agrees to it. The One I follow here merits Preference to the Correction made by both these Critics. *Quumcunque*, that is to say, *quandocunque*, *quotiescunque*, differs only in a single Letter from *quamcunque*, makes very fine Sense, and is very good Latin. *Lucretius* L. 2. § 113. says

*Contemplator enim, quum solis lumina cunque
Insensim flundunt radios per opaca domorum.*

¶ 6. *Gravem Pelidae stomachum.*] Here begins the Enumeration of the Generals. 'Tis impossible to make a just and precise Application of all these Allegorys. History fails our Curiosity, and 'tis no small Matter to be able to unfold some of them upon very probable Resemblances. The first Personage who presents himself to be unmask'd is the inexorable *Achilles*, whose Resentment against *Agamemnon* held the Fortune of the *Greeks* and *Trojans* for a long Time as it were in Suspense. We have already in the ODE *pastor quum traheret* seen *Pollio* disguis'd under the Name of *Achilles*, here he again appears under the same Name and for the same Reasons. The ill Treatment he had receiv'd from *Octavian* was the Cause of his Chagrin; his Inaction during the Wars of *Actium* and *Alexandria*, and his obstinate Resistance to the pressing Solicitations of this Prince were the Effects of it. Hence he became formidable, and forc'd his Enemys to court his Friendship; and hence these Expressions here *gravis stomachus* and *cedere nescius*, which answer to *iracundus* in the ODE *pastor quum traheret*. But, if it shou'd be ask'd, why *Pollio* who was not engag'd in the two last Wars shou'd be plac'd among so many Captains who had distinguish'd themselves in both? I answer that the Allegory falls only upon his Inaction during these Wars. His Neutrality justly suspected balanc'd *Antony's* Hopes and *Octavian's* Inquietudes. Moreover, we saw by the preceding Piece in what high Esteem he always liv'd at *Rome*, and how *HORACE*, as well as all the celebrated Wits of that Time pay'd great Court to him.

¶ 7. *Cursus duplicis Ulysses.*] These two *Ulysses's*, shou'd make Us at least suspect that all these greek Personages are allegoric, and I doubt not but *HORACE* wrote *duplicis* in this View. 'Tis probable he intended to design here *Agrippa* and *Messala*, the two most distinguish'd Admirals of those Times, and who had commanded *Octavian's* Fleets in the Wars of *Sicily* and *Actium*. The Allusion to *Ulysses* does them Honor, and to me appears very natural.

Mr.

Mr. *Dacier* understands by this Word *duplex* the *POLUTROPOS* and the *POLUMETIS* of *Homer*, that is to say, *subtil, prudent*. I might contest this Explication, persuaded as I am that these two Words signify only a Man who has experienc'd many Adventures, *qui versatus est per multiplicem dissimilemque fortunam*. Be that as it will, I shou'd readily subscribe to Mr. *Dacier*'s Opinion, if it cou'd be prov'd that *duplex* was ever imploy'd by *latin* Authors in the Sense He gives it. They have only made it to signify either two distinct Things, or one Thing as big as two, as I cou'd easily justify. *Isaac Vossius* says, *duplex pro dolofo non videtur satis Latinum*.

† 8. *Pelopis domum*.] I believe the Poet had here chiefly in View *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*. The Family of *Pelops* is here the Family of the *Lagides*. The unhappy Passion of *Ægisthus* for *Clytemnestra*, and that of *Antony* for *Cleopatra* plung'd them all into the greatest Misfortunes.

† 9. *Tenues . . . pudor . . . imbellis*.] The Reason which *HORACE* alledges for not singing *Octavian* and *Agrippa* is remarkable, it is the Key of the whole Piece. I cannot, says he, sing *Achilles*, *Ulysses*, &c. Why? because my Abilitys don't qualify Me to reach the Virtues of *Octavian* and *Agrippa*. This Reasoning evidently includes an Allegory, or contains inexplicable Balderdash; I see no Medium.

† 13. *Martem*.] By the three remaining Personages I believe he intended to design *Statilius Taurus*, *Marcus Titius*, and *Mæcenæ*. The first commanded a Squadron of *Octavian*'s against *Pompey*, put an End to the War of *Dalmatia* in 720, and commanded the Land-forces against *Antony* at *Actium*. The second together with his Uncle *Munatius Plancus* quitted *Antony* in 722, had a Share in the Command of *Octavian*'s Troops in *Epirus*, and brought off *Philadelphus* King of *Paphlagonia* from *Antony*'s Party. I have already shewn what Share *Mæcenæ* had in all the Wars of those Times. Besides, he was very learn'd and a Favorite of the Prince. Is not this what the Poet meant

to

to figure by this Protection of *Pallas* the Goddess of Science, and by this intimate Familiarity of *Diomed* with the Gods? The Senat decreed divine Honors to *Octavian* in 725, and the Towns of *Italy* had already anticipated this Decree by placing him in the Number of their tutelar Gods in 718, after the Reduction of *Sicily*.

CARMEN XIX.

AD LYCEN.

Insultat quòd contemnatur à juvenculis.

L. 4.
O. 13.

AUDIVERE, Lyce, Dî mea vota, Dî
Audivere, Lyce. Fis anus, & tamen
Vis formosa videri,
Ludisque & bibis impudens.

5 Importunus Amor transvolat aridas
Quercus, & refugit te, quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugæ
Turpant & capitis nives.

9 Nec Coæ referant jam tibi purpuræ,
10 Nec cari lapides tempora, quæ semel
Notis condita fastis
Inclust volucris dies.

Quò fugit Venus? heu! quò color? heu! decens.
Quò motus? Quid habes illius, illius
15 Quæ spirabat amores,
Quæ me surpuerat mihi,

Felix

Ode XIX. HORACE'S ODES. 207

Sicily. Octavius oppidatim inter Deos tutelares consecratus est, says *Appian* in his fifth Book of the civil Wars. *Pallas* made *Diomed* immortal and rank'd him with *Castor* and *Pollux*. This Stanza is magnificent, and the Beauty of the Verses is answerable to the Force of the Ideas.

O D E XIX.

To LYCE.

He insults her upon her being become the Sport of young Men.

THE Gods at lenth have heard my Pray'rs ; Yes, LYCE, the Gods have heard Me. Thou art grown old and yet woud'st still be counted fair ; thou dost wanton without Shame and tippie without Discretion.

Cupid, that little winged Deity, flutters only about young Plants ; others are not in Season for him ; on such he never perches. The hoary Snow that Age has scatter'd o'er thy Temples, the many Furrows that Time has plow'd on thy Brows, and the yellow Hue of thy mould'ring Teeth render thee so hideous, that struck with Horror at the Sight He turns his Head, spreads his light Wings, and in a Moment flies.

Thy costly Robes and precious Stones cannot recal those rapid Years that have run their Round since the Day of thy Birth, the Date whereof is not unknown.

Alas ! where is that Prime of Youth, that blooming Complexion, those spritely and ingaging Airs that animated thy whole Carryage ? What hast Thou left of that LYCE, that ravishing LYCE, whose ev'ry Look inspir'd Love, and stole Me from myself away ?

Next

Felix post Cinaram, notaque & artium
 Gratarum facies? Sed Cinaræ breves
 Annos fata dedere,
 20 Servatura diu parem
 Cornicis vetulæ temporibus Lycen:
 Possent ut juvenes visere fervidi,
 Multo non sine risu,
 Dilapsam in cineres facem.

REMARKS on ODE XIX.

THIS Piece is a Proof that Wit and Honor are not perpetual Associates. It is well conceiv'd and finely written, the Censure is spritely, the Allegorys just, the Expression correct, and the Versification harmonious. Thro' the whole We discern the excellent Poet, but We hunt for the Man of Honor in it, and are sorry We cannot find Him. Never was it allow'd in a delicate and improv'd Age, like that of *Augustus*, to inveigh in so outrageous a Manner against a Person One had formerly lov'd. Politeness and good Manners equally condemn such a Conduct. Endeavors have been us'd to excuse HORACE here and in some other Pieces; but without examining whether these Excuses be valid, much better were it that He had not stood in Need of a Justification.

LYCE was young when HORACE courted her good Graces, here she is represented in an advanc'd Age; this Piece therefore is not one of his first Works.

¶ 1. *Lyce.*] From another Place we learn that this *Lyce* was a Lady of no less Prudence than Beauty. Hence I suspect that there is some Exaggeration in what HORACE says here, and that Resentment has a greater Share in it than Truth.

¶ 5. *Importunus.*] That is to say, *Amor transvolat aridas quercus, quibus est intempestivus.* Cicero has some-

Next to *Cinara*, Thou wast once without Contradiction the fairest Collection of all the Graces that can form a perfect Beauty. The Destinys cut off *Cinara* in all her Pride of Conquest, but will preserve the blasted *LYCE* to a superannuated Age, to give our Youths the pleasant Diversion of seeing that Torch, which kindled so many Flames, convert to Ashes and in Smoke expire.

somewhere us'd *importunus* in the same Sense. To Me this Explication appears more natural than all that has been hitherto sayd. Love represented under the Figure of a Bird is the Idea of all Ages.

¶ 8. *Capitis nives.*] *Quintilian* condemns this Metaphor, however he does not condemn *HORACE*. After saying there are some Metaphors that are harsh and too far-fetch'd, as when *the Snow of the Head* is made to stand for *white Hair*, he immediately subjoins that it is a great Error to think that Orators may take as much Liberty in this Point as Poets. *Sunt & duræ translationes, id est à longinquâ similitudine ductæ, ut capitis nives. In illo verò plurimum erroris, quòd ea quæ poetis permessa sunt, convenire quidam etiam profæputant.* It is therefore wrong in *Mr. Dacier* to endeavor to prove from *Quintilian's* Testimony that *HORACE's* Expression is insupportable. To Poets He allows it, but requires that Orators never use it but with Precaution, and after having demanded the Permission of their Hearers; for thus he explains himself in another Place: *Sì quid periculosius finxisse videmur, quibusdam remediis præmuniendum est; ut ita dicam, si licet dicere, quodammodo, permitte mihi sic: quod idem etiam in iis quæ licentius translata erunt, proderit, quæ non tutò dici possunt.*

¶ 9. *Referant.*] This is the Reading of *Mr. Cunningham*, which, I think, gives more Extent and Force to the Thought than *referunt* or *referent*.

¶ 10. *Cari.*] It is of no great Consequence, says Mr. Dacier, whether we read *clari* or *cari*. I grant it: yet am I determin'd by Reason to the latter of these two Words. It is found in the most ancient Manuscripts, and thus the Scholiast read it, since he explains *cari lapides* by *gemmarum pretia*. In short *cari* seems more proper in this Place. When We wou'd speak correctly, we say *lapides* to signify opaque Stones, and *gemmæ* to denote transparent Stones. *Clarus* can only sute the latter, and *carus* may be sayd indifferently of either.

¶ 13. *Venus.*] This Word signifys in general the Charms of Beauty, which the Poet particularises by adding *color* for the *Livelyness of Complexion*, and *motus decens* for the *Graces of Shape, Carryage, Behavior*.

Quò color? heu!] Here is a considerable Alteration. In the Editions the Reading was *quove color decens*. Chabotius and Cerutus began the Reformation, by referring *decens* to *motus*, and not to *color*. Dr. Bentley has not only follow'd but also justify'd them. Mr. Cuningam has put the last Hand to the Text, and re-establish'd it as I present it, for Reasons to be seen in his Notes upon HORACE.

¶ 14. *Quid habes illius, &c.*] Interpreters have taken Pains to arrive at the Understanding of this Passage. It is frequently necessary to risk many bad Explications, before We can hit on the true Meaning. Two or three Terms have caus'd all the Imbarassment. Let Us unfold their Signification, and the Difficultys will vanish.

In the first Place HORACE has us'd *facies* not only for the Face, but for the whole outward Appearance of a Person. So he says *quali sic facie* in the SATIRE *non quia Mæcenas*. Terence us'd it so before him; upon which Donatus says, *faciem modò, non partem corporis dicit, sed totam speciem, quæ adparet & cernitur*.

Secondly our Poet writes *facies nota gratarum artium* in the same Sense in which he elsewhere says *Proculius*

culcius notus animi paterni; and as other Poets have sayd *notus formæ, notus militiæ, notus operum, præstans animi, pendens animi, &c.* All these figurative Expressions are so many Ellipses, where some Words must be understood. Here the intire Construction is *facies nota ob præstantiam gratarum artium, or gratarum artium causâ.*

Thirdly by *artes* we must understand, as the Scholiast has very well explan'd it, those graceful Motions, those delicate Indearments, which please and attach; *artium gratarum facies dicitur, quæ oculis, nutu superciliorum, cervicis volubilitate, capitis gratiâ, totius denique corporis motu placet.* Tibullus has express'd all this in these two pretty Verses in Praise of *Sulpicia*;

Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,

Componit furtim subsequiturque decor.

Thus then we shou'd range HORACE's Phrase, which, I think, contains no farther Difficulty. O *Lyce, felix olim. post Cinaram, ò nota gratarum artium facies, quid habes illius, quæ spirabat amores, quæ me surpuerat mihi?* This Remark shews that the true Sense of this Passage was unknown to Mr. Dacier, and that the Correction propos'd by him is at least useles.

CARMEN XX.

* A. U. C. Dccxxv.

DITHYRAMBUS.

Octaviani laudes, Baccho auspice, exequi meditatur.

L. 3.
O. 25.

Quò me, Bacche, rapis tui
 Plenum? quæ nemora, aut quos agor in specus
 Velox mente novâ? quibus
 Antris egregii Cæsaris audiar
 Æternum meditans decus
 5 Stellis inferere, & concilio Jovis?

Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
 Indictum ore alio. Non secus in jugis
 E somnis stupet Evyas,
 10 Hebrum prospiciens, & nive candidam
 Thracen, ac pede barbaro
 Lustratam Rhodopen. Ut mihi devio
 Rupes & vacuum nemus
 Mirari libet! O Naiadum potens.
 15 Baccharumque valentium
 Proceras manibus vertere fraxinos;
 Nil parvum, aut humili modo,
 Nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,
 O Lencæe, sequi Deum
 20 Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

ODE XX.

A DITHYRAMBIC.

He undertakes to sing the Praises of *Octavian* under the Auspices of *Bacchus*.

WHITHER, O God of Wine, dost Thou transport Me with thy Divinity replete? To what wild Caves, what distant Woods am I hurry'd by the impetuous Sally of a new Enthusiasm? What Echos will from far resound the Songs I meditate to raise *Octavian's* Glory to the Stars, and place him in the Council of the Gods.

Actions sublime I now prepare to celebrate, Actions no Hero has hitherto been capable of atchieving, nor any Mortal been allow'd to sing. My Soul is seiz'd with Astonishment: such the distracted *Bacchanal's* Amaze, when from a Sleep profound starting She around her sees the Ice of *Hebrus*, the Snows of *Thrace*, and the Dances of *Barbarians* on the Summit of Mount *Rhodope*. How am I enchanted by letting my Admiration ramble into those desert Regions, now upon these pointed Rocks, and now within the deep Recess of those solitary Forests! Pow'rful God of *Naiades* and *Bacchanals*, who with nervous Hands are able to root up the loftiest Trees, by thy Protection aided I can sing Nothing but what is grand, Nothing but what's divine, and all in elevated Strains. Rash tho' my Enterprize, 'tis sweet, O charming *Bacchus*, to follow the Impulse of a God, whose Temples are with verdant Vine-leaves always crown'd.

REMARKS ON ODE XX.

NOTHING is more ODE, if I may be allowed the Expression, than the *Dithyrambic*, which is with Regard to *lyric Poesy* what *lyric Poesy* itself is with Regard to *Poetry* in general. In *Dithyrambic* properly shou'd reign that Heat of Imagination and that Boldness of Language, wherein the Sublimity of the ODE consists. We have already seen One in HORACE's Way. This is of another Character, and not inferior in Beauty. The Praises of *Bacchus* are turn'd to the Advantage of *Octavian*. The Poet is dispos'd to make the Elogy of this Prince. He finds that the Force of human Understanding is unequal to so high an Undertaking, and he desperes of succeeding in it, unless *Bacchus* fills him with his own Enthusiasm, and exalts him in some Sort above Man. He therefore gives himself up to this God who seizes him and fashions his Genius by his harmonious Impressions, to render him capable of the grand Design He meditates. I believe the Consecration of *Octavian* is the true Subject of this ODE, if so, we must fix it at the Year 725.

✧ 3. *Mente Novâ.*] As if *Bacchus* had suddenly chang'd the Poet's Mind, and in some Measure divinised it, to render it equal to the Majesty of the Subject.

Quibus antris] This is a new Interrogation. The Turn is thereby more lively and more *dithyrambic*. Ev'ry One that has the least Notion of this Poetry must perceive the Truth of this Reflexion. Nothing is more frigid, more languid than the Explication of those who pretend that *quibus antris* is relative to *quos agor in specus*.

✧ 4. *Egregii Cæsaris.*] This Epithet is very noble. *Egregius* is for *exemptus è mortalium grege*.

✧ 5. *Me-*

‡ 5. *Meditans.*] * One of our late Commentators wou'd have Us read here *modulans*, because, says He, the Man who meditates cannot be heard, *neque enim auditur meditans*. But he mistakes HORACE's Sense, and is ignorant of the Language of the Poets. *Meditari* with them is *to sing*. *Tityrus* was singing when *Melibæus* sayd to him,

Sylvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avenâ.

‡ 7. *Insigne, recens, adhuc indictum.*] The Diff'rence between these three Expressions I have sufficiently made appear in the Translation. The last of them is capable of two Senses. No Heros had been ever sung, who equal'd the Glory of *Octavian*; and the Romans had no lyric Poet before HORACE.

‡ 9. *E somnis.*] The Reading *exsomnis* is ridiculous as Dr. Bentley has demonstrated, who would substitute *Edonis* in it's Place. But this is to depart too far from the Text. The Correction I have follow'd is in *Landini's* Edition publish'd at *Florence* in 1482.

* *John du Hamel.*

The End of the second Book.



[illegible]

